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ABSTRACT

When considering what type of communication is required for development, the conventional answer of diffusion of technological innovation for modernization and growth is inadequate. Daniel Lerner and Everett Rogers describe traditional people as the greatest obstacle to development. Paulo Freire perceives communication as an instrument for changing society versus persuasion and extension for the maintenance of the status quo and social control. Andreas Fuglesang attacks the myth of people's ignorance and advocates cross-cultural communication. Third system communication organizes society with a reversal of authority. Development for the rural poor should, while not neglecting the sound economic base, be first and foremost development as if people mattered. Liberation from being passive recipients and toward an active citizenry is the essence of the new content of social development. By deduction, rural social development (RSD) will equally contain both these liberating and positively empowering aspects. Empowerment comes through participation. RSD communication will have to be participatory. Examples of participatory communication are the Kenyan DEP Program, indigenous nongovernmental organizations in West Africa, Organization of Rural Associations for Progress in Zimbabwe, and the Community Educational and Cultural Center in Kenya. (Contains 174 references and a subject index.) (YLB)

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Communication, Education and Empowerment

Raff Carmen

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List of Abbreviations

ACFOD Asian Cultural Forum on Development
AMECEA Association of Episcopal Conferences in East Africa
AR Animation Rurale
AT Appropriate Technology
CDES Christian Development Education Service (Kenya)
CEBEMO Christian organisation for joint financing of development programmes (Netherlands)
CESEAD Communaute Economique et Sociale de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
CO Citizen Organisation
DD Development Dialogue (Uppsala, Sweden)
DELTA Development Education and Leadership Teams in Action (Kenya)
DES Development Education Service (Kenya)
DSC Development Support Communication (FAO)
ENDA Environnement et Développement du Tiers Monde
FFHC/AD Freedom from Hunger Campaign/Action for Development (Rome)
FSR Farming System Research
FONG Féderations d'Organisations Non-Gouvernementales (Senegal)
IFDA International Foundation for Development Alternatives (Switzerland)
IFRED Institut de Recherche et Formation pour l'Education (Paris)
ILO International Labour Organisation (Rome/Addis)
INADES Institut Africain pour le Développement Economique et Social
IRAM Institut de Recherches et d'Application de Methodes de Developpement
JSDA Journal of Social Development in Africa (Zimbabwe)
KCECC Kamfrifthu Educational and Cultural Centre (Kenya)
KEC Kenya Episcopal Conference (catholic)
LE Learning Event
LSD Local Social Development
MDI Management Design Incorporated (USA)
ME Major Evaluation
NGO Non Government Organisation
(ONG) Organisation Non-Gouvernementale)
ODA Overseas Development Association (UK)
OD Organisation Development
ORAP Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress
ORD Organisation Régionale de Développement (W. Africa)
ORP Organisation of the Rural Poor
PHC Primary Health Care
PTD Participatory Technology Development
PR Participatory Research
RDD Regional Development Dialogue (Japan)
RSD Rural Social Development
Six S's Se Servir de la Saison Sèche en Savane et au Sahel (Burkina)
SD Social Development
SMCRE Source-Message-Channel-Receiver-Effect (comm. model)
UN United Nations
UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisatin
UNRISD United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
USAID (or AID) United States Agency for International Development
WHO World Health Organisation
WINDOW Women in National Development of Women (Kenya)

Preface

These pages are written from a Third World perspective. The focus is on development communication. The central question addressed is: what kind of communication is required for what development? The conventional answers - diffusion of (technological) innovations for modernisation and growth are investigated and found wanting. While it is true that the majority of the world population are, from an economistic growth perspective - truly but absurdly and paradoxically - 'marginals', the fact remains that they constitute, de facto, the bulk of mankind and that their condition in political, economic, environmental, cultural and social terms is not keeping pace with that growth.

Growth as production for production's sake is, as far as they are concerned, not only irrelevant but a positive threat, so much so that a Freedom from Hunger Campaign report speaks in terms of a war being waged on the rural poor. Development for them will therefore, while not neglecting the sound economic base, be first and foremost development 'as if people mattered'. Liberation from being passive recipients and towards an active citizenry is in fact the very essence of the new content of 'Social Development'. By deduction, Rural Social Development will equally contain both these liberating and positively empowering aspects. Empowerment comes through participation. Rural Social Development Communication will have therefore to be participatory.

The true function and potential of rural development communication is not, as it is often conceived, that of mere support system - information and the media communicating with the poor (McAnany 1980) or D.S.C. (Development Support Communication, Ceres 1988). In the final analysis we are talking in terms of **knowledge empowerment**. The bulk of this text was completed by June 1988. Since then, there have been momentous world events, many pointing in the direction of a global desire for democracy, autonomy and particapation. The debate, and the struggle, continue....

Raf f Carmen June 1990

Chapter I

Communication Theory

The Conventional Communication Paradigm: Diffusion of (Technological) Innovations for Modernisation and Growth.

Daniel Lerner and the empathic transitional.

Communication theory and communicologists are relatively new phenomena. Interest in communication as a means of exerting mass influence grew considerably after the invention of the printing press and, subsequently, the spread of journalism. However, it was not until the mid-30's, with the vulgarisation of the electronic media, and in particular radio, that communication became the object of scientific study.

During the second world war, communication became a vital means of military (signals and codes) and psychological warfare (e.g. Goebbels and his Propaganda Ministry).

Marketing techniques and the information media have by now reached such a degree of sophistication that we are engaged in what according to Kruithof (1988 p.23) amounts to a global 'consciousness-war': the five press-agencies (UPI, AP, Reuter, AFP and Tass) which since the 40's have dominated the information industry have been joined recently by media-giants (e.g. Rupert Murdoch and Ted Turner) who, with a network of TV stations radio transmitters and press agencies 'are in a position which enables them to totally dominate and rule public opinion in the West' and also to control and shape people's minds and attitudes. What is at stake is the steamrolling of other cultures and values in favour of the total westernisation, or, more precisely, americanisation, of our planet.

The new media mandarins have taken the place of the colonisers of yore who were firmly convinced that no progress is possible for 'backward' societies unless they assimilate the superior knowledge and values of the metropolis.

It is in this perspective (of dominance and dependency) that the early communication theories for (rural) development have to be understood.

The first communication models were of the S-M-C-R-E* type, patterned on the electronic media and dubbed the telecommunication model by Díaz Bordenave (1977). (Table One)

Table One

Models of Communication

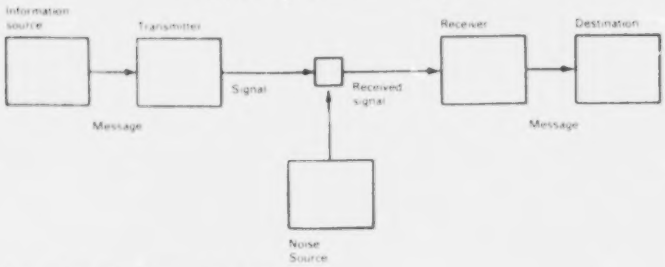

FIG. 1. The telecommunication model

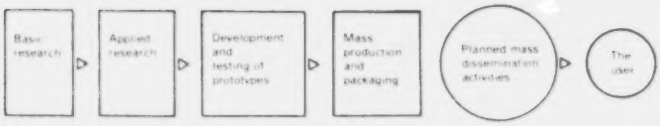

FIG. 2. The market model

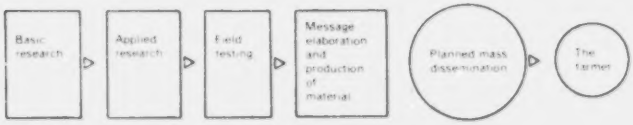

FIG. 3. The agricultural extension model

Source: Díaz Bordenave, J. 1977 pp.12-19)

The initial main foci of research were the information source and the effects elicited in the receiver. The new knowledge gained was put to use, and this especially in the postwar United States, in advertising and marketing, and in the running of effective election campaigns. Journalism was elevated to a separate discipline and audiovisual aids and extension services became household words in the fields of education and training for rural development. Communicology has a great variety of taproots in anthropology, psychology and linguistics, although for a long time it was mainly the domain of sociologists.

---

* A source (S) sends a message (M) via certain channels (C) to a receiver (R) who responds or reacts to the stimulus with an effect (E)

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The one-way linear model dovetailed with the then prevailing (if not to say exclusive) production/growth development paradigm: of this the West was a clear illustration and model for all to emulate.

This already severe ethnocentric bias was further compounded by the fact that the cultural-sociological framework within which the study of communication for rural development evolved was one in which individualism and competitiveness and faith in economic and technological efficiency are paramount. The modern American commercial farmer on whom the models were first tested is permeated with these values and beliefs.

With the growing postwar interest in the development of the then colonies and 'backward' areas of the globe, the insights of communication science were soon being exported and applied to the problem of how to transmit development information and how to persuade those mainly traditional rural populations to accept new ideas, to modernise, in one word to 'develop': a new off-shoot of communication science, diffusion (of innovations to Third World traditional rural societies) was born.

One author who epitomises this type of research is the sociologist Daniel Lerner (1964).

His book 'The passing of Traditional Society' is an exploration of the modernisation process among the populations of six Middle Eastern countries* in the mid-fifties.

In it 'ignorant', 'innocent' traditional man is contrasted with 'modern man' who 'need only reflect on the titanic struggles whereby, over the centuries, medieval ways were supplanted by modernity' (Lerner 1964 p.43). Individual/collective blame is seen as the main reason why traditional man has not made the transition, yet, to modernity. 'Middle Easterners have only themselves to blame' is a statement typical of that era. (Lerner 1964 p.411)

Communication, according to Lerner, is both the index and agent of change. What makes modern man so adaptive to change is a 'mobile sensitivity' which Lerner calls empathy. Empathy enlarges man's identity in two principal ways:

-through projection: others are incorporated because they are 'like me'.

-through 'introjection': the self is enlarged by attributing to it desirable attributes. (Others are incorporated because I like them or want to be like them).

---

* in casu: Turkey, Lebanon, Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iran.

Empathy (Lerner acknowledges its Freudian origin), the inner mechanism which enables newly 'mobile' persons to operate efficiently in a changing world and the lack of it, is, according to Lerner, at the root of two fundamentally different manifestations of society: traditional and modern.

Traditional society, in his view, is essentially non-participant. It deploys people by kinship into communities isolated from each other and from the centre. Modernity, on the other hand, is essentially made of communication and participation. What makes communication possible, the sociological pivot on which hinges the activation of psychic mobility, is the acquisition of literacy.

An increase in literacy, and therefore an increase in the capacity to 'empathise', is the very yeast which permeates the system of self-sustaining growth and mass-consumption which, according to Rostow (1960) is the nec-plus-ultra of modernity and, by implication, of 'development'.

The change-over from traditional to transitional man happens when the former starts to 'see things others do not see', 'live' in a world populated by imaginings alien to those kept prisoners in stagnant societies, closed upon themselves.

Obstacles in the way then of modernisation (and by implication development) are many, but all have to a greater or lesser degree to do with deficiencies to be found within individuals or individual societies. This hypothesis came later to be known under the name of 'individual blame bias'.

According to Lerner traditional man himself is the greatest obstacle to development. 'Empathy' is the bridge which makes transition from traditional to modern ways feasible. It was the task of Everett Rogers, one of the most prolific writers in the field of development communication, to describe the characteristics of this traditional man more in detail, the better to be able to devise an appropriate and effective development strategy.

Everett Rogers: Externally Induced Diffusion of Innovations and the 'Subculture of Peasantry'.

In his 'Modernisation among Peasants' (1969 p.14) Everett Rogers defines three basic concepts:

-modernisation, which is 'the process by which individuals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced and rapidly changing life-style'

-development, which is the same process happening, not at the individual level, but at the level of the whole social system. Its effects on society are higher per capita income and standards of living.

-communication, which is 'the process by which messages are transferred from a source to one or more receivers'

Whereas Lerner contented himself to talk about a rather non-descript traditional man, Rogers focuses in on a well-defined target, the peasant, whom he defines not on the basis of some superficial characteristics, which may vary from culture to culture, but as belonging to a worldwide subculture, which, while containing many of the elements of the broader cultural super-structure, can be identified by elements which sets it apart from this structure.

Worldwide peasantry - understood to be that category of farmers that concentrates, basically, though not always exclusively, on subsistence production - share, according to Rogers the following particularities:

-mutual distrust in interpersonal relations: the peasant is perceived to be so deeply suspicious of others that it is difficult for him to believe that there is no hidden meaning under the most casual events. This mistrust also and especially embraces any innovation which is a priori associated with cheating or worse. (e.g. witchcraft)

-perceived limited good.

This is a concept borrowed from Foster (1968) who contends that peasants commonly hold to the notion that all desirables in life (including land, wealth, love, power and safety) exist in finite quantity, are always in short supply and can not be increased by any means in the peasant's power.

It follows therefore logically that the only way of improving one's position is at the expense of the others, a way of reasoning which in turn reinforces the sentiment of mutual distrust.

-dependence on and hostility toward government authority: a long history of exploitation at the hands of outsiders has usually conditioned the peasant to adopt this defensive attitude. Paradoxically also, 100% assistance from that same government will be expected for tasks he considers beyond his ken and/or capabilities.

-familism, or the subordination of individual goals to those of the family; although individualism is a strong motive force in every peasant, it takes second place when confronted with the urge to conform and submit to the needs of the (extended) family.

-lack of innovativeness: peasants are by nature conservative.

-fatalism, or the degree to which an individual recognises a lack of ability to control his own future. Just as omnipresent 'fate' is blamed for misfortune by the peasant, so it is created for success. Any attempt at self-help appears fruitless or even preposterous in this light.

To complete the picture, Rogers also adds to the list 'deferred gratification' (postponement of immediate satisfaction in anticipation of future rewards) and 'localistic' perspective which includes limited geographical and media exposure.

This is, in diffusionist terms, the statement of the problem: traditional man is the very antithesis of modernity. Based on this analysis a remedial strategy can be devised. Mainly by means of surveys among 255 Colombians Rogers investigates the interrelationships of modernisation variables among local peasants and on that basis determines the cross-cultural validity of these findings for other Third World countries.

All his research data tend to confirm that, both at the micro/modernisation and macro/development-level, communication, principally under its aspects of diffusion, and communication-related variables are indeed crucial in jolting the ignorant and reluctant peasantry out of its torpor.

Empirical studies also reveal that the catalyst setting this process in motion invariably is a source external to the community, called the change agent, i.e. a professional who influences the innovative decisions in a direction deemed desirable by the primary innovation source and who acts as a liaison between the latter and the client social system.

The role of 'opinion leaders' (members of the community) was first highlighted in a 1944 study by Lazarsfield on the direct influence of the media on voting patterns. This influence was found to be practically nil, but it was found that opinion leaders acted, in fact, as powerful intervening mechanisms.

From the Columbian case-study it transpired that opinion leaders typically would display higher levels of functional literacy, higher empathy, media exposure and a generally higher level of education.

With hindsight, it was Rogers himself who was the first to recognise at a later stage (1976), that the classical diffusion model, for all its originality, pioneering work and in-depth analysis, was all the same flawed by concentrating almost exclusively on the individual, mainly characterological and psychological drawbacks of the peasants' character, a drawback compounded by frameworks and research methods belonging to another culture, mainly the highly industrial, affluent environment of North America.

> "Concepts, theories and methods have been taken from Western industrial nations and utilised elsewhere ... One must wonder how different the social sciences would be if they had been founded by Kenyans, Japanese or Bolivians" (Rogers & Svenning 1969, p.364)

The most serious flaw in diffusionist theory is the assumption that traditional responses are 'given' variables entirely due to the supposedly autonomous behaviour of the individual peasant who has, or has not, access to information, who is an 'adaptor' or 'resister', an 'innovator' or 'laggard', and who, given the proper information and incentives (persuasion), is free to follow or reject the example of the 'opinion leader', or, in other words, that communication, applied in the right measure and fashion, has somehow the power to bring about development.

It was indeed in the early seventies that the 'old' development paradigm itself which had held sway for over a quarter century, started to shift. The old development dogma (which is still very much alive in the late eighties) was based on the following four criteria:

i. Economic growth through industrialisation (including industrialisation of agriculture) and accompanying urbanisation, with economic growth and per capita income as principal measuring sticks.

ii. Capital-intensive and labour-saving imported technology.

iii. Centralised planning, orchestrated by economists and bankers to guide and speed up the above growth of the economy.

iv. Causes of underdevelopment lie within the developing nation. (Rogers in: Schramm & Lerner 1976, p.49)

The most radical criticism of those main tenets of an economistic development paradigm came from the dependency theorists (also referred to as 'dependistas' because of their Latin American roots) who take as their central premise that it is impossible to comprehend the Third World problematique (let alone find cures and devise strategies) without reference to the wider socio-historical context of the expansion of Western European mercantile and industrial capitalism and the disintegrating effect this had - and still has - on individuals and societies.(1)

Griffin's remark that 'Europe did not discover the underdeveloped countries, [that], on the contrary, she created them' (Griffin 1968) and Walter Rodney's use of the term underdevelopment, not as a noun, but as an active verb ('How Europe Underdeveloped Africa') (1972) are entirely typical and representative of this view.

The concept of structure and hence, structural dependence, applied to society, refers to a network of statuses and roles of which communities worldwide, as well as individuals within those communities, form part, or, to express it in G. Frank's words:

> "This same structure [of dependence] extends from the farthest reaches of the world capitalist system 'down' to the most supposedly isolated agricultural workers, who, through this chain of interlinked metropolitan-satellite relationships, are tied to the central world metropolis." (Frank 1969, p.16-17)

Underdevelopment, the 'normal' condition of traditional man or the subculture of peasantry, far from being a 'given' and starting-point is, on the contrary, the end-result of something which historically has been and continues to be '<u>done to</u>' people.

It normally follows that when diffusionist theory and strategies are superimposed on this reverse image of the conventional economistic development-paradigm we get a picture - apart from some ingenious but entirely secondary insights - of almost total disparity.

Diffusionists had become increasingly aware of this frustrating fact when they found that through such methodological refinements as 'content analysis' and 'sample surveys' through structured interviews, the end-results, in terms of expected development outcomes, remained disappointing.

Rogers, after a decade of sincere efforts and research, remarks ruefully:

> "Perhaps the diffusion of technological innovations will cease to be a central issue in the 'new development' ... Perhaps it should." (in: Schramm & Lerner 1967, p.31)

In fact, it did, but rural development communication theory had to await the advent of a thoroughbred third-world thinker and practitioner, Paulo Freire, to escape the deadening and dependency-perpetuating gravitational pull of the (mainly North American) diffusionists.

It is a tribute to Rogers' integrity and honesty as a scientist that he did not allow himself to become a prisoner of diffusionist theory of which he was one of the main architects.

His evolving and new insights are reflected, a.o. in his 1976 article 'Communication and development: the passing of the dominant paradigm' and 'Where we stand in understanding the diffusion of innovations' (1976). There is also his

1981 book, in collaboration with Kincaid 'Communication Networks: toward a new paradigm of research' (1985)

For once a pious wish, mooted by Lerner, that 'the best service a model can render is to hasten its own obsolescence by leading to a better one' had come true.

Paulo Freire: Communication as an Instrument for Changing Society versus Persuasion and Extension for the Maintenance of the Status Quo and (Social) Control.

Freire's contribution to the development communication debate consists mainly of the fact that his philosophy and methodology were not conceived in the sterile laboratory-like environment of detached scientific observation but that they were the fruit of a life of personal hardship, conflict and struggle of someone born and bred in Latin America, a continent which, since the time of the conquistadores, had first-hand experience of the implications of dependency, oppression and powerlessness. One of his major works is called, not untypically, 'pedagogy of the oppressed'.

At the same time Freire, as an intellectual, was in a position to draw together many strands of contemporary thinking into a dynamic theory entirely at the service of liberation from this de-humanising oppression.

One of his most central concepts 'conscientização' was, according to Crowley (1985, p.41) first popularized by Dom Helder Camara, the former bishop of Recife. (N.E. Brazil)

His conviction that the (Brazilian) people can be helped to learn democracy through the exercise of democracy, the first prerequisite of which is critical consciousness is, in fact, an elaboration of the ideas of early liberals like Dewey, Popper, Mannheim et al.

His concept of dialogue is deeply rooted in existentialist philosophy: dialogue (later on also referred to simply as 'conversation' by a maturer Freire) is defined as 'the encounter between people, mediated by the world in order to name the world'. In a culture of silence it is an existential necessity for the oppressed to first regain their right to speak. (Freire 1972 'Pedagogy' p.131).

Existentialist strands can also be found in the fundamentally important distinction between banking and problem-posing education.

Banking and Problem-Posing:

There is a close relationship between what Freire typifies as 'banking' education and certain forms of communication: just as in education the authority of knowledge is presumed to reside in the teacher whose function it is to deposit (like money in a bank) in a student, presumed not to know and expected to be taught, to listen and to assimilate slavishly what is being taught, a certain amount of pre-determined and pre-digested knowledge, so also in development communication 'change agents' are entrusted with the task of transmitting and diffusing their (superior) knowledge of (mainly technological) innovations to the distrustful, fatalistic and inherently ignorant peasantry.

The change-agent aims at achieving his objective by attempting to change values and cognitive orientations in 'obstacle man'. Through manipulation and persuasion a certain amount of carefully selected information is directed at, or delivered to 'corrigible' groups of peasants.

Change agents use opinion leaders as mediators, filters, which will allow those innovations to percolate, 'trickle down' until they, and consequently development, are entirely 'diffused' to the wider public.

Education and communication are reduced to 'acts of depositing' (Freire 1972, p.45) in which the educatees (receivers) are the depositories and the teacher (change agent) the broadcaster of communiqués which the recipients, in a rather mechanical manner, absorb, digest, memorize and repeat.

In problem-posing education, on the other hand, the monologue is replaced by dialogue. Freire describes how, in his work with Brazilian illiterates (Freire 1973, p.43) he was struck by the fact that, when attention is paid to real problems, a lot of interest was generated among his illiterate students who, during the first twenty sessions had shown a large degree of apathy and fatalism: the projection on a screen of two containers bearing the word 'Sugar' and 'Poison' combined with the question as to which of the two they would rather put in their orangeade, brought home to the audience the realisation that they were not as illiterate as they had thought they were.

> "It is sufficient to be a person to perceive the data of reality to be capable of knowing, even if this knowledge is mere opinion. There is no such thing as absolute ignorance or absolute wisdom." (Freire 1973, p.43)

The strong emotional meaning of the words related to community problems stimulated participation in the emerging dialogue. Freire identifies the relationship between knowing and the desire to intervene in the world as the key to the motivation for learning:

> "The task of the educator is to present to educatees as a problem the content of which mediates them, and not to discourse on it, give it, extend it, or hand it over, as if it were a matter of something already done, constituted, completed and finished. In the act of problematizing the educatees, the educator is problematized too. Problematizing is so much a dialectic process that it would be impossible to begin it without becoming involved in it ... Problematization is not only inseparable from the act of knowing but also from concrete situations."

(Freire 1973, p.153)

Mutual respect for each other's knowledge is the basic attitude necessary for this new source of learning called dialogue.

> "Without dialogue there is no communication, and without communication there can be no true education."(Freire 1972, p.65)

Freire makes a sharp distinction between dialogue, which implies a horizontal relationship between persons and anti-dialogue which is based on a vertical relationship.(Table Two)

Table Two

DIALOGUE	ANTI - DIALOGUE
A with B = communication inter-communication	A over B = communiqué
Relation of 'empathy' between two 'poles' who are engaged in a joint search	Relation of 'empathy' is broken
MATRIX: Loving, humble, hopeful trusting, critical	MATRIX: Loveless, arrogant, hopeless, mistrustful, a-critical.
HORIZONTAL relationship.	VERTICAL relationship.
Dialogue - COMMUNICATION	Anti-dialogue - issue of 'COMMUNIQUÉS'.

Source: Freire 1973

In the horizontal communicative relationship words acquire a problem-posing quality which propels the communicators into a process of auto-generated discovery of the causes of those problems as well as their social implications.

The mistrustful, hopeless, a-critical vertical teacher-student, source-receiver relationship of the vertical matrix changes into a searching, trusting, hopeful, critical teacher-student, student-teacher, inter-communicative relationship of the horizontal matrix.

Where Rogers once described the predominant model of communication as 'a linear, left-to-right paradigm that implies a transmission approach to communication, like a bucket carries water' (1976, p.32), Freire proposes a model where mutual respect for each other's knowledge and culture blossom into dialogue which itself becomes a creative source of new knowledge. Dialogue ipso facto excludes a top-down, superior-inferior relationship where all knowledge and culture are presumed to reside in one person. The teacher-communicator and the educatees-participants are contributors in the capacity of their professional authority, or the authority of their own cultural experience to a dialogue made of respect, trust and, Freire does not even shrink from the ultimate word: love.

Conscientização is the term introduced by Freire to indicate the principle of 'problematising' which stimulates the awakening of critical awareness. All probems of learning and all comunication can, in Freire's universe, be presented in a problematising way. Conscientização is the capacity of individuals to see the social system critically. Critical consciousness stands in contrast to, on the one hand, naive consciousness which is a synomyn for over-simplification and romanticism which will try to reform individuals, not the system in which those individuals evolve and, on the other, magical consciousness which is the stage at which individuals adapt or conform fatalistically to the system.

> "Consciousness-raising generally, and conscientização specifically, is concerned with changes in the relationships which moderate human intercgange. Conscientização is not a technique for information-transfer, or even for skill-training; it is a dialogical process which brings individuals together to solve common existential problems. These problems are related to the socio-political conditions of the individuals involved in the educational process. The task is liberation ... Conscientização is not a simple goal to reach; it is the ultimate goal of the pedagogy of the oppressed." (Smith, W.A. 1974, p.3)

Extension or Communication:

Freire makes some important applications of the above principles to the field where change agent and peasant meet in an attempt to bring about rural development.

Norman Long (1977) distinguishes between two fundamentally different approaches to rural planning in the Third World: the 'improvement' approach which aims to encourage agricultural development within existing peasant production systems; and the 'transformation' approach which attempts to establish new forms of agricultural and social organisation, and which makes a radical break with existing peasant systems in terms of scale, production techniques and sociological structure.

Improvement policies rest fundamentally on a modernisation view of change, and stress the diffusion of modern technology, skills and resources to the 'traditional' sector.

> "The improvement of agricultural extension has frequently formed part of a more general programme of community development. The latter represents an integrated approach to the question of rural development aiming to initiate improvements not only in agriculture, but in health, sanitation, craft industries and in level of literacy." (Long 1977, p.145)

Transformation policies group such diverse experiments as the Gezira Scheme in Sudan, 'conceived in a spirit of paternalism and a paramountcy of native interest' (Long 1977, p.149) in the early 50's and a variety of settlement and re-settlement schemes such as the 'Million Acre' settlement scheme in Kenya and the 'Ujamaa' villagisation programme in Tanzania: they all have in common that they attempt to bring about structural change through a radical break with existing systems.

In Long's account, neither of these approaches has produced in a satisfactory manner the intended results.

Freire points to the fact that the deeper cause of failure may not lie so much in the policies themselves as in the philosophy underlying them and the mentality in which they are executed:

> "From a truly humanistic point of view it is not for them [the agronomists, specialists, change agents] to extend, entrust or dictate their technical capacities, nor is it for them to persuade by using peasants as 'blank pages' for their propaganda. In their role as educators, they must refuse to 'domesticate' people. Their task is communication, not extension" (emphasis in original) (Freire 1973, p.97)

He demonstrates how the extension model, in fact, transforms the peasant into a 'thing', an object of externally initiated and directed development projects, whether they be of the improvement or transforming variety and which, in the final analysis, negate him/her as a subject potentially capable of transforming the world in their own right.

He supports his argument with linguistic, philosophical and cultural-historical analyses of the reality behind the 'extension' jargon.

Etymologically the word extension is derived from the transitive verb 'to extend', meaning, when applied to rural extension practice, a person extending something (the direct object of the verbal action) to or towards someone (the indirect object of the verbal action).

Taking a cue from modern semantic studies emphasising the importance of 'associative fields' which, like the effect of a developer on photographic film have the capacity to reveal several dimensions of previously opaque terms, Freire comes to the conclusion that

> "the act of extension, in whatever sector it takes place, means that those carrying it out need to go to 'another part of the world' to 'normalize it', according to their way of viewing reality: to make it resemble their world. Thus, in its 'field association' the term extension has a significant relation to transmission, handing over, giving, messianism, mechanical transfer, cultural invasion, manipulation etc." (Freire 1973, p.95)

The most revealing connotation of extension is persuasion and the most extreme form of persuasion is propaganda. Extension therefore is almost by definition anti-dialogical and anti-educational if by education is meant conscientization. Whatever its content - commercial, ideological, or technical - or intent, extension as persuasion can only lead to domestication.*

Making the point that the basic aim of extension is the substitution of one form of ('traditional') knowledge (the peasants') for another (the scientific, 'professional' knowledge of the change agent), Freire raises the argument to the philosophical level. He accuses the extentionists of gnosiological** misinterpretation of the concept of knowledge.

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* 'Domesticate : literally, means taming an animal and thereby render it harmless as a household pet.

** 'Gnosiology': the theory of the origin, nature and validity of knowledge.

Knowledge, as the extensionists interpret it, is not unidimensional: there are different forms in which human beings 'know' in their relations with the world. There is a static way of looking at knowledge, the kind which can be transferred and 'deposited' in educatees or receivers of messages. There is the dynamic variety

> "which necessitates the curious presence of Subjects confronted with the world. It requires their transforming action on reality. It demands a constant searching. It implies invention and re-invention. It claims from each person a critical reflection on the very act of knowing." (Freire 1973, p.101)

The profound poverty of the concept of knowledge conceived as a 'depositable' entity which can be directed at objects/targets, with which they need to be 'filled', the meaning of which they are not aware of, the content of which contradicts their way of 'being in' the world stands in stark contrast to knowledge which is the task of subjects who are in a position to appropriate what is learned, who apprehend and thereby reinvent that learning and who are able to apply the appropriated learning to concrete existential situations.

Knowing is a task for subjects, not for objects.

Moreover, in Freire's epistemology, knowledge does not exist for its own sake: subjects know in order to do.

> "For Freire, humanity is incomplete, and the world is likewise incomplete. Our ontological vocation is to humanise ourselves by transforming the oppressive structures of our world. The exercise of human intellect is tied into this vocation: we reason in order to transform ... to do nothing is to support the exploitation of the powerless by the powerful." (Matthews in Mackie p.91)

A third argument put forward in support of the thesis that the task of the change-agent should be communication, dialogue, never extension and manipulation, is derived from the cultural-historical context in which the process of necessity has to take place.

If those engaged in transforming action upon reality consider themselves, as is likely to happen in extension, as the sole authority entitled to make choices and decisions then their action will be tantamount to cultural invasion: the penetration of someone else's or another group's cultural-historical situation in order to impose a foreign system of values. The instruments employed by the invader who, at most, thinks about, never with the invaded, are propaganda, slogans, myths:

> "Thus it is incumbent on the invader to destroy the character of the culture which has been invaded, nullify its form, and replace it with the byproducts of the invading culture." (Freire 1973, p.114)

To the self-assured, almost arrogant authoritarianism and pseudo-efficiency of the cultural invader, Freire opposes the patience and humility, result of the realisation of the complexity but also limitations and fallibility of human knowledge, which are a necessary precondition for true dialogue.

> "No one can know everything, just as no one can be ignorant of everything. Knowledge begins with the awareness of knowing little (in the function of which one acts)." (Freire 1973, p.119)

Although this stance may be interpreted as relativism, subjectivism or scepticism, all Freire really means by fallibility is that he is convinced that human knowledge can be improved and understandings deepened in a dynamic, developmentalist and dynamic view of reality

> "Human beings constantly re-create their knowledge, in that they are inconclusive, historical beings engaged in a permanent act of discovery. All new knowledge is generated from knowledge which has become old, which in its turn has been generated from previous knowledge. Thus, knowledge is in constant succession, such that all new knowledge, when it is established as such, becomes the basis of knowledge which will replace it." (Freire 1973, p.119)

'Obstacle man' of the diffusionists is not averse to innovation because he is 'by nature' distrustful, fatalistic or lacking in 'empathy': reasons for this presumed aversion transcend individual-psychological parameters. There are historical-sociological, cultural and structural reasons for him being what he appears to be. Difficulty of dialogue with peasants does not arise from the fact that they are peasants, but from the oppressive socio-economic structures that surround them and that permanently reconfirm the myth of their own ignorance and powerlessness.

The Myth of People's Ignorance and Cross-Cultural Communication: Andreas Fuglesang

Andreas Fuglesang, a Scandinavian communiocologist closely linked to the 'Development Dialogue' for an alternative development school of the Dag Hammerskjöld Foundation* never claimed to be a philosopher, theoretician or educator.

He does, however, have a long experience in the field of maternal and child care, primary health care and human settlements, as a fieldworker in Zambia and subsequently as consultant to governments and international organisations in Africa, Latin America and Asia. This led him to organise the first Dag Hammerskjöld Seminar on Applied Communication (1972) and to publish a good number of books and articles on the subject of communication, the most recent of which 'About Understanding' and 'The myth of people's ignorance' (1982 and 1984).

Fuglesang makes a frontal attack on the 'unholy alliance' of two mystifications: the myths of development and the myth of people's ignorance. The conventional development concept is closely intertwined with yet another myth, namely that technology (and hence technological innovation) is of necessity for the good of mankind. Because it is presumed to be cheap, neutral (i.e. not linked to any political system) it is also presumed to be desirable, nay imperative. As desirable social development, on the other hand, is presumed to be synonymous with economic growth, the implied value judgment is that the linear process of growth will emanate into what corresponds to the present modern western consumption society.

The 'traditional ways' still prevalent in Third World societies are therefore obstacles: misguided, counterproductive, inferior, plain mistaken or whatever negative label one cares to attach to them, one thing is certain: they have to go. The concept of communication as dialogue and mutual enrichment is entirely foreign to this set-up, while the one-directional, linear top-down diffusionist communication-mode is perfectly in tune with it.

Fuglesang identifies European culture as the major obstacle to communication if communication in any way carries the connotation of 'sharing': the significant

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* D.H.F.: set up in 1962, one year after Hammerskjöld's tragic death, in Uppsala, after a national fund-raising campaign in Sweden. An important publication is the 1975 "What now" report. Its mouthpiece is Development Dialogue Journal.

feature of western culture is not only its scientific and technological achievement,

> "it also exudes disrespect for other cultures as well as insensitivity to the miraculous multiplicity of life and human behaviour." (Fuglesang 1982, p.47)

He is particularly scathing when describing the patronising, paternalistic attitude of those communicators who, because of their failure to understand the rationality of villagers, show a basic mistrust of people and point to their 'ignorance', superstition, primitivism etc.

> "Those entrusted with the pretentious task of 'educating the people and uplifting the masses' ought to know precisely what they mean when they lament people's ignorance." (Fuglesang 1982, p.42-43)

The concept of 'ignorance' can be traced right back to the Roman Empire: the original meaning of 'bar-bar', the unintelligble noise made by foreigners, was extended to denote any foreigner whose language or customs did not agree with, or differed from the then dominant Greek and Roman civilisations. The ethnocentricity which is a direct result of political and military dominance over other peoples soon imbued the word barbarian with the connotations of a rude, crude, 'wild', uncivilised, uncultured and, above all, 'ignorant' human being.

Fuglesang points to the inherent proof of ignorance shown by branding other people(s) ignorant: the Romans were unaware of their own ignorance of other cultures and civilisations, some of them thousands of year older than their own. But it is the characteristic (and curse) of conquerers, colonizers, empire-builders, proprietors and oppressors, the educated and civilised, to identify their opposites, all at the service of proving their own erudition, power or superiority.

There is also irony in the fact that the 'barbarian' of the Romans became, in the language and legends of people living in what are now called the 'dark' Middles Ages, an almost mythological 'wild man'

> "This dark, raging, sometimes hairy monster, was located vaguely in India, Abyssinia or beyond the Moorish horizon in North Africa. He was fiendish, libidinous, canabalistic and utterly ignorant. As an unacceptable aberration to orderly society, he was its antithesis, its needed scapegoat for social calamities - or their potential threat." (Fuglesang, 1982, p.44)

In more enlightened times, with a better knowledge of geography and people, the 'wild man' took on some more human features, was even elevated from

phobia to desired image by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and replaced by the image of the 'noble savage'.

It was to this 'savage', living in 'heathenism and ignorance' that especially in colonial times, the 'civiliser' could orient his values of right and good.

Most of the pejorative connotations attached to this image of the noble savage were subsequently transferred to the uncouth poor or stupid peasant: the industrial revolution, the class distinction brought about by the uneven distribution of material goods, and last but not least, the notion of the almost god-like scientist, all reinforced the notion of the common man's and, even more so, peasant's ignorance.

Communication, in Fuglesang's view is essentially a bridge-building exercise spanning two manifestations of culture and their modes of communication.

Again, he finds it necessary to demystify the word culture. Culture is "the language in which people structure their experience so they can communicate information from person to person." (Fuglesang 1982, p.41) and also "how people structure their experience conceptually so that it can be transmitted as knowledge (information) from person to person and from generation to generation." (Fuglesang 1982, p.91)

What diversifies cultures is not necessarily the geographical place one is born in, or the sum total of the erudition one has accumulated. Within the same geographical space, among people speaking the same language, several cultures and sub-cultures may co-exist. Culture is first and foremost the way in which people process information and viewed in this way, there are basically two different types: written and oral.

> "In the written culture, people absent themselves from each other and the objects and mount the written word in between. The reality of a book is that our perceptions are reduced to the single sense of sight ... In the oral culture, the words are behaviour focused, the oral language is sung and danced ... It activates all the senses of those who participate in the process of communication." (Fuglesang 1979, p.8)

Written culture is not about three-dimensional objects, but about concepts. Written culture relishes in playing mind games and 'language' games, in taxonomies and classifications, in models of reality. The mode of communication of the written culture is also, typically, digital, i.e. by means of invented signs which are tossed around according to certain rules. It is a social convention, invented by people, and modified by people over the years, to suit their particular needs. Digital language proceeds by affirmation and negation - 'if this is an apple, then

everything else is not apple - :it started with the invention of the alphabet (a small group of signs related to certain sounds produced by the mouth) and culminated with the advent of the electronic computer.

Oral culture - provided this reality can be adequately rendered in writing ! - does not proceed by abstraction, by concepts, by affirmation and negation. It is mystical participation in the wholeness of the world in which the village is totally immersed. Fuglesang attempts to translate this reality into words in the chapter entitled 'Of course there are spirits.' (p.77) The mode of communication of the oral culture is imitative or analogic. Unlike the alphabet, which is a string of abstract symbols, the Egyptian hieroglyphs are an example of an attempt at imitative communication: understanding of the written symbols is linked to the recognition of a likeness with certain objects or events in reality. Imitative rendering of reality, however, has its limits: it soon becomes an impracticably heavy and unwieldy form of communication.

Imitative communication, then,

> "is pictorial, although not always in a photographic sense. It is built on the idea of likeness between the message itself and the object or event in reality which the message represents." (Fuglesang 1982, p.89)

This culture is, certainly, different, but for that same reason not necessarily illogical or irrational.

An example will again illustrate what Fuglesang is getting at:

> "When a Westerner arrives in the office he says 'Good morning' and retires in a sullen silence behind his desk, reading his mail or possibly the newspaper. When a Swahili speaker arrives he says: 'Habari gani?', i.e. 'What is your news?' and he expects to engage in a conversation about yours and his news. The Somali herdsman is even more graceful. Imagine your weary arrival at his camp where he greets you with 'Somaal', i.e. 'Go and milk my beast'. I believe that greetings in a culture are a gateway to an understanding of that culture." (Fuglesang 1982, p.97)

The oral community in Fuglesang's view is a coherent system regulating the flow of information necessary for its survival. Survival has its own inner logic and rationality. At the service of this eminently rational principle, everything in the oral community serves the purpose of storing and transmitting - processing - the information necessary for the survival of each individual and the community as a whole. (Oral) culture, then, is the process through which the community stores this information in patterns of social behaviour (e.g. greetings), in magic and religious expressions, in its education, in its folklore, its proverbs, legends, myths,

songs and dances, in its very language, the words of which are 'behaviour focused', the language itself 'sung and danced'. In this culture, nothing is irrational, everything serves a well-defined purpose.

This same theme, the rationality and 'expertise' or oral culture, can be found in the works of, e.g. Brokensha (1980) and Chambers (1980).

Field workers, even if they are 'locals', but infinitely more so if they are westerners, have to realise that most of their knowledge and expertise form part of the world of abstractions of the written culture, that most of what they know was acquired through the book or is 'bookish' and that the world of their 'clients' is a world of person-to-person contact, equally valid, and with its own logic and rationality.

> "It is difficult for some professionals to accept that they have anything to learn from rural people, or to recognize that there is a parallel system of knowledge to their own, which is complementary, usually valid, and in some respects superior ... Unfortunately, many of those bearers of modern scientific knowledge have been trained away from being able to learn these different ways of seeing the environment, or understand the problem of rationality of small farmers. They do not realize that, as John Hatch [in 'The corn farmers of Motupe, Peru'] has written: farmers too are professionals." (Chambers 1980)

Development, or, in Fuglesang's terminology, social transformation, ('making a change in form', literally) is something which, by definition can happen only to a social formation. The social formation we are talking about in rural development is a (tribal) community which is more than the sum total of houses or individuals. It is, functionally, a process of continuous interaction between individuals or groups with common interests. Structurally, it is a self-regulating system for the processing of information, usually through the control of (a group of) elders. It will decode, select or reject incoming information and compare it with information stored in its memory. It is, therefore, a common mis-perception that the traditional tribal or subsistence community is 'fatalistic', lacks 'innovativeness', is 'conservative' or 'resistant' to change:

> "To resist change by adhering to custom is not stupidity but wisdom. Understandably, a community does not want to abandon ideas and methods which people know and trust for new ideas untested and untried in the practical laboratory of time. Change is no newcomer to the traditional societies of Africa, which are continuously adapting and adjusting themselves with ingenuity to changing circumstances."
> (Fuglesang 1982, p.186)

Whenever there is community consensus (which may be overt of tacit) that a given change is beneficial,

> "the community will produce new information accepted or regarded as normative for individual behaviour and conducive to the communal interest." (Fuglesang 1982, p.187)

Social transformation can, therefore, properly speaking, not be directed. It can, at best, be influenced in the sense of proving to people, making them 'see' that there are tools to use, that knowledge and experience are important, that discussions and debate can and do make a difference.

Fuglesang's book is about understanding. What is important to understand in development communication is that all lifestyles are equal, that 'primitivism' and ignorance are a myth. The first and foremost requirement in the bridge building effort is trust is people's own ability to cope. People's participation is not something which can be 'mobilised' or 'created' from the outside. True participation can only mean people's right to decide for themselves.

Third System Communication: the Work and Inspiration of IFDA.

The starting-point of IFDA (International Foundation for Development Alternatives, based in Nyon, Switzerland) was the 1972 seminar on applied communications organised under the auspices of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and under the directorship of Andreas Fuglesang.

1975, the Dag Hammarskjöld foundation convened a special seminar for Third World journalists in New York, during the seventh special session of the UN General Assembly.

The participants of that seminar, insisting that 'for the new international economic order to emerge, peoples of both industrialised and Third World countries must be given the opportunity of understanding that they share a common interest in creating international conditions that will permit another development of societies in all parts of the world', set out in a statement the principles of a new world information and communication order (NWICO).

Since its formation in 1977, mainly through its 'Dossiers', IFDA has published and publicised information concerning initiatives and projects which have as common denominator, on a global basis,

> "people organising themselves so as to develop who they are and what they have, by themselves and for themselves." (Development Dialogue 1987:1, p.170)

The inspiration and point of departure of IFDA is, as its president, Marc Nerfin, explains in an article under the title 'Neither prince nor merchant: citizen' (D.D 1987 p.170), the realisation that both the governmental power ('prince') and the economic power ('merchant') have

> "more often than not proved unable by themselves to offer solutions to the [present] crisis and even less to contribute to the search for alternatives ... They are more part of the problem than part of the solution." (Development Dialogue 1981:1 p.72)

The crisis he is talking about is that of our human condition which faces the permanent threat of the nuclear holocaust and the 'daily, already real' holocaust of hunger, which kills 40,000 children every day 'the equivalent of a Hiroshima every week'. They are the signs, the symptoms of a deep structural and historical maldevelopment based on a pattern of growth and resource use geared to private profit and power and a pattern of dominance of the planet by the North, which is no longer tenable.

In the light of such realities the search for a solution becomes, literally, a struggle for life and death, a struggle for survival and, given the inability of the powers that be, governmental and economic, to offer solutions, a search for 'Alternatives for Survivors'. (D.D.1981:1 p.68)

The alternative to the Prince and Merchant duo is the citizen's or people power. 'Citizens'* and their associations, when they do not seek either governmental or economic (first and second system) power, constitute the 'third system'.

The phrase 'third system' was first embodied in the title of the 'third system project' carried out between 1978 and 1980 by IFDA as a contribution to the elaboration of the UN International Development Strategy for the 80's. (Nerfin in: Dolman & Ettinger 1978 p.71).

The term itself is meant to evoke that 'tiers état' (the third state) of the French 'ancien régime: before the 1789 revolution French society comprised three 'états', the nobility, the clergy and the rest, the 'third estate' i.e., the vast majority of people. In contrast to the term 'third world' (first used in 1952 by Alfred Sauvy in 'Mondes en Marche') and which has a geo-political flavour, the concept of

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* Nerfin is well aware that the term 'citizen' may be meaningless in other cultures. It is up to each culture to find an equivalent, e.g. mwananchi (literally 'mwana' + son-daughter of the 'chi' = earth/globe, in Kiswahili or "shimin" in Chinese)

'third system', like 'tiers état' is socio-political: it refers not so much to countries as to people and to what the third system is about.

Although the ideology of the French revolution, formulated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Denis Diderot and others, was essentially democratic, it was not really a revolution in the sense of a take-over by 'people power'. Opposing the nobility and high clergy were the merchants, the artisans, the peasants, the first industrial capitalists, the intellectuals and some 'low' clergy (parish priests).

Notwithstanding the revolutions of the last three centuries - English 'glorious revolution' of 1688, the French 1789 revolution and the Russian revolution of 1917 - nothing has substantially changed in the distribution, or rather monopoly of power concentrated in the first and second systems.

Third system, citizens' or people's power, never materialised in 1688 when 2% of the total population were being represented by a chamber of rich men, all males, and in 1789 and 1917 citizens' power was usurped by respectively the borgeoisie and the bureaucratic machinery which took over where king (Tsar) and church had left off.

The third system does not seek to usurp the power of the prince or the merchant: it seeks to help people to assert their own autonomous power vis-a-vis both Prince and Merchant.

The essence of the third system project, therefore, in the face of pervasive maldevelopment, is the organisation of society, its economy and polity, in such a manner as to maximise, for the individual and the collective, the opportunities of self-fulfilment, thereby rendering to the word 'development' its original etymological meaning of 'removing the envelope, the husk' - that is, unfolding, overcoming domination, liberating people's individual and social imagination in defining goals, inventing ways and means to approach them and learning to identify and satisfy socially legitimate needs.

Third System Communication

Third system development, the essence of which is people's creativity, requires a reversal of authority: most societies are run from the top, each layer of authority trying to reproduce the model it receives from above. 'Authority' (officials, bureaucrats, technocrats, managers, teachers and priests) dispenses the law and orders. Authority knows best and tends to treat those that do not conform as deviants. The alternative to the present state of affairs is not the immediate withering away of the state as this would only lead to unbridled market liberalism from which no one but a tiny minority will benefit.

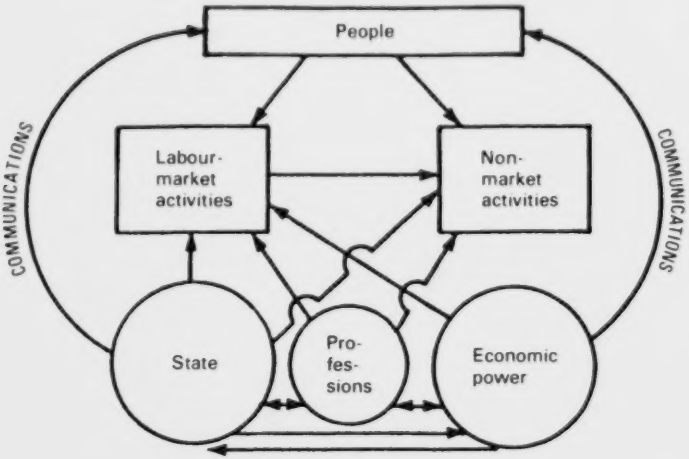
The reversal of authority the third system has in mind can be best illustrated by a comparison of two figures illustrating the mode of operation and communication within a 'dominated' and 'liberated' society. (Table Three)

Linkages and lines of communication in the above model are basically undirectional and assymetrical. People are acted upon, 'given' information by State and/or Economic power, assisted by a 'priesthood of professional communicators' (D.D., 1981, p.74): technocrats, doctors, architects, journalists, lawyers and the like. Whether it is the market or the state, people are at the receiving end. Secure in their monopoly of knowledge and bolstered up by laws, rules and regulations, professionals' influence on people's creativity is inhibiting.

In the dominated society people's minds and time are channelled into two main areas: labour-market and non-market activities and (receiving) communications.

Table Three

The Dominated Society



Source: Development Dialogue 1981

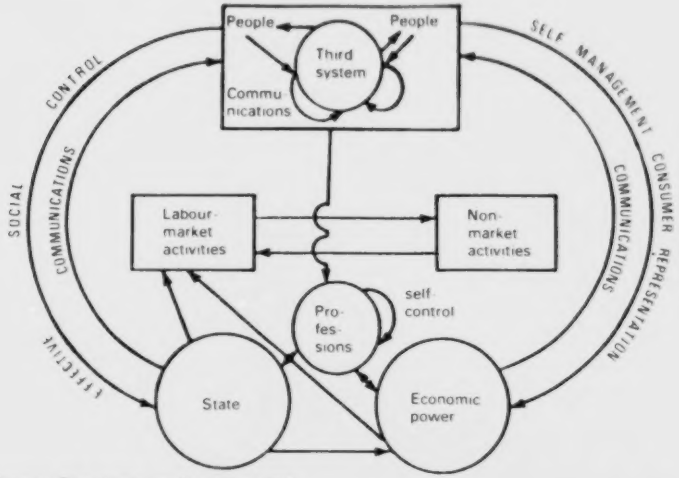
The liberated society's communication model stands out by its symmetry and mutuality: within the mass of people the third system has set up an endogenous communication network nurtured by people's creativity. (Table Four)

The power of the State and Market has not been supplanted by an alternative system: both are still present and are still communicating, but they have lost their monopoly. The market's monopoly is controlled, not only by the state, but by people who, thanks to their endogenous network(ing) have been able to set up, as producers and consumers, a system of self-management and effective representation. The non-market sector here has been 'decolonised', leaving space for autonomous activities and relationships with the labour-market sector.

Similarly, the monopoly of the state is subject to effective social control (by people's pressure groups).

Table Four

The Liberated Society



Source: Development Dialogue 1981

Professionals' monopoly of knowledge is equally controlled by the collective knowledge of people 'who are also professionals'. (R. Chambers, 1980)

It is, of course, realised that these two models are ideal(ised) extremes in a gamut of institutionalised possibilities. What is important to realise is that the path from mal-development to development and the reversal of authority from a monopolistic Duo to a more balanced Trio will, of necessity, lead along the signposts on which the words 'decolonisation of culture and of the communica-

tion system', 'effective social control over economic power and the power of knowledge', 'full civil rights', including the 'right to promote change', are written large.

> "There is nothing new in idea of reversal of authority. It has been that of the democratic social movements for ages. What is new is the multiplication of the signs of a revival of local action, all over the world." (Development Dialogue, 1981:1, p.74)

Proof of this being so is the IFDA dossier itself which contains case studies, reports, information, analyses from places as far apart as India and Bolivia, Benin and Malaysia, Mexico and the Netherlands:

> "They cover a vast range of activities, urban as well as rural: direct production of use-values; access to markets; job creation; creative unemployment; women's production cooperatives; alternative production; consumers' defence; ecologically sound technologies; access to resources - land, technologies, credit; interest free credit; production methods to make factory work less inhuman; self-management; responses to old-age isolation; resistance to nuclear energy; alternative lifestyles based on self-restraint; communal life; dialogue with villagers; class struggle against land owners and money lenders; a Buddhist approach to local development ..." (Development Dialogue, 1981:1, p.74)

The struggle for 'another development' starts and will continue to be fought, first and foremost in the 'local space'. Most of the above examples bear testimony to the richness and diversity of local struggles. Their common features are innovation and transformation (however modest) of social relations within the group and between the group and the larger environment. Van Nieuwenhuijze devoted a whole book to the subject 'Development begins at home'(1982). This is because the primary community - where people live, learn, work and play - is the immediate space open to most people.

The other 'spaces' are national, Third World and global (D.D. 1981:1, p.73) where the role of state and market will be taken up by inter-governmental organisations and transitional corporations (TNC's). Even at this rather awe-inspiring level, individuals' or people's organisations' freedom of action need not be impaired.

-In the national space, the principle that communication is a public service, not a marketable commodity, could be best served by democratising access to the media: demystification of the journalistic profession, support for two-way communication channels and local networks and by establishing mechanisms to make the media accountable to society.

-In the Third World space, mutual information networks are of the essence in the creation of South-South links: useful as 'non-aligned' news agencies may be,

> "people in their struggles may not gain much from the replacement of the monopoly of the transnational news agencies by that of governments." (Development Dialogue 1981:1, p.91)

-In the global space, Nerfin proposes a two-pronged approach: the first orbits around the United Nations, which, in turn branches off in two directions.

One direction is towards the heady heights of a remote utopia, where Nerfin dreams of 'another' United Nations when (anno 2025?)

> "redeeming its original sin of having been conceived, brought into being and grown up as an organisation of governments, the UN of our children and grandchildren will probably reflect better the societies of the world and the actors who make them alive." (Development Dialogue 1987:1, p.184)

For this eminently more representative global body, Nerfin would propose a 'Prince Chamber' representing the governments of the states, a 'Merchant Chamber' representing the economic powers, and a 'Citizen Chamber'

> "where there would be as many women as men [who] would, through some mechanism ensuring adequate representativeness, speak for the people and their associations. At the very least this would make it possible for citizens to hold Prince and Merchant accountable for the consequences of the exercise of their power." (Development Dialogue 1987:1, p.184)

Nerfin finds it significant that the first Workers' International (the Workingmen's Association) resulted from a meeting in London, in 1862, on the occasion of the International Exhibition which took place there that year. He muses that, similarly,

> "the United Nations conferences of the 1980's will be seen, in retrospect, as having played a similar role, facilitating contacts between people otherwise scattered, opening new space to networking." (Development Dialogue 1987:1, p.187)

and he cites the 1972 Stockholm conference on the environment where almost as many, if not more, 'interesting and far-reaching' things happened in the adjacent forum as in the inter-government assembly.

Since then, over the years, similar 'fringe' meetings have taken place, culminating in the 'fringe' 15,000 women-strong Women's Forum which ran parallel to the 'official' Nairobi Women's Conference of 1985.

The second approach, networking, while not excluding the first approach, reflects all the same better the nature and goals of third system forms of association and communication.

The practice (of networking) is as old as mankind. What is new is that, because of advances in technology, such as air travel, the photocopier, the (video)tape and the revolution in telecommunications, networking has the potential of encompassing the globe. Networking, because it operates horizontally, is a formidable alternative to and rival of the institutions and communication linkages conventionally serving Prince and Merchant.

The latter are designed and operated in a pyramidal manner, rooted in a vertical division of labour between bureaucrats and membership, dispensing information rather than facilitating communications and breeding conformism and dependence. The former's centres are everywhere, their peripheries nowhere.

> "They exercise an inner power over themselves. Based as they are on moral (as distinct from professional or institutional) motivations, networks are cooperative and not competitive. Communicating is of their essence." (Development Dialogue 1987:1, p.187)

Networks do not exist for themselves, but for a job to be done. When this job is done, they disappear. Being egalitarian they foster solidarity and sense of belonging. They foster a sphere of autonomy, freedom and creativity. Moreover, the use of networks, unlike the official media, is not the Prince of Merchant's privilege. Provided the technology employed becomes cheaper, smaller and more universally accepted, direct two-way communication will become common-place and ideally suited to third system communication.

Meanwhile, there is the less high-tech channel of the written word and inexpensive publications permitting this global network to operate already in our times, as IFDA has demonstrated now for over a decade.

Notes

1. For example dos Santos, T. "Underdevelopment and Development." Penguin 1973, Frank, A.G. "Capitalism and Underevelopment in Latin America." M.R.P. N.Y. 1969 and Frank, A.G. "Latin America: Underdevelopment and Revolution." M.R.P. 1969.

On the Nature of Rural Development: Rural Social Development, Empowerment and Participation.

Rural Social Development.

The track-record in the field of rural development by successor governments in post-WW II newly independent countries has been all but impressive. The overall impression one gets from looking, country after country, at their rural development efforts is that they have been at best, a measure of last resort, only seriously considered when everything else seems to have failed.

At the moment of their political independence those countries joined the fraternity of modern states, with immediate membership of the United Nations and modern states need liquid funds, enormous amounts of them, to operate. The most readily available source of immediate 'cash' is usually mining (including oil-exploration) and import-substitution the immediate presumed benefit of which is that it will fill the government's, not the foreign importers' coffers.

It usually took those states not very long to realise that the shortest distance between A and B is usually not a straight line: as the case of Zambia, for example, has shown, and as the fate of Nigeria (which had to go through a fratricidal war to get control of the oil-wells) confirms, it is enough for the price of copper, or oil for that matter, to drop a few percentage points on the world market to make a complete shambles of even the best laid-out plans: commodities may belong to governments but their prices are fixed, often months or years in advance, by international conglomerates. Lesson one: political independence does not mean any right or entitlement to fix prices of commodities produced by the countries concerned and even less control over the ever escalating re-sale prices of those same commodities at their point of re-entry in the country under the form of manufactured goods; while Tanzania, in the early seventies needed a couple of tons of coffee to purchase a tractor, it soon may need a trainload, the only difference being that the tractor is now so much more sophisticated (electronically controlled turbo fuel injection, fancy hydraulics) so much so that

the tractor which was formerly 'driver-repairable' now becomes instant scrap iron for the most innocuous of reasons.

Only when this realisation strikes home or only when countries are resource-poor in the first place, can governments be coaxed into having a serious look at 'rural development', i.e. agriculture as a (cumbersome, long-haul and all but glamorous) money-spinning activity, 'for want of anything better'.

The best measure of a government's commitment is not what it says (in rousing 'back-to-the-land' speeches, for example) but what it does, i.e. the amount of money it proportionally allocates to its professed priorities (in its National Development Plans). In the early and medium-term independence years one will almost invariably find a statement of principle that the rural areas are, indeed, 'top priority', whereas, judging by the figures almost as invariably it is the urban-industrial sector (and a certain type of educational and health-care system that is linked to it) which gets the lion-share of the funding. This same measuring-stick is equally revealing when it comes to gauging the government's commitment towards rural development activities proper: it does not need a thorough research to find that, almost invariably, agricultural, and within this, cash-crop development come up tops.

In terms of profitability and quick returns on investment (which seem to concentrate any government's mind almost obsessively) large-scale irrigation schemes producing cash crops for external or internal (to the towns) export, usually head the list. It is remarkable that even after it has been scientifically demonstrated that, in terms of output per manhour, small-scale or family-farm schemes are even more profitable, this extra profitability is enthusiastically sacrificed on the altar of central control, which will ensure that, whatever happens, it is the government, not the farmers, who will be the prime beneficiaries. A school example of this is the 100,000 acre Gezira scheme in Sudan (1) or the more recent 60,000 acre ORS (Opération Riz Ségou) rice project in Mali. (Cornelis, 1984)

Commenting on the latter, Cornelis writes:

> "While on the one hand the project is officially presented as integrated rural development with the welfare of the participants uppermost in mind, the reality, on the other hand, is that the original inspiration of the project was a concern to satisfy a growing urban demand for rice." (emphasis added) (Cornelis, 1984, p.30)

Another, though less attractive because of a diminished measure of state control, way for the government to 'invest' in rural development is by way of land colonisation or resettlement schemes. As can usually be judged by the end-re-

sults, the concepts of 'increased general welfare for the rural population' or even the idea of 'towns in the bush' are thrown in for good measure, as a political coating of the rock-hard money-making pill produced by the central planners.

The often dismal rate of return on investment of these schemes is, in the government's eyes, often counterbalanced by the advantages of increased political penetration and control in areas where loyalty to the government of the day or even the recognition of 'belonging' to any state (a pretty abstract and distant reality for rural dwellers in the best of times) at all is often tenuous.

When the financial situation gets serious enough (as was, again, demonstrated by the Zambian case for example) (2) governments may become bold enough to drop any pretence of social concern and set themselves up as commercial farmers or agrarian capitalists by introducing state farms (often up to 100% financed by foreign donors).

In terms of technology, capital investment and labour relationships they are indeed hardly distinguishable from commercial farms. The main difference often is that, being run by bureaucrats and government officials whose prime concern is not profit, but job-security, they are commercial fiascos. (3)

Rather way down the list of 'attractive' options come cooperatives.

The original inspiration of the cooperative movement (e.g. in Victorian England's Rochdale cradle) was clearly the defense of their members against exploitative trading and banking practices and the provision of their basic needs on an egalitarian basis. As the Credit and Loan cooperative movement based on the 'one share, one vote' principle, to give but one example, has shown, the cooperative principle is basically sound and a potential powerful development catalyst in even the most desperate and deprived environment. (4)

That is however not the principal reason which may make Cooperatives attractive in governments' eyes. As is the case with the aforementioned rural development enterprises, governments are interested in cooperatives for reasons, of, first and foremost, economic, and secondly, political expediency. This will call for a centralised, top-down organisational approach and structure, ensuring that, again, whatever happens, the government will be in a position to cream off its share of the proceedings. That economic and educational needs of members invariably take the back-seat hardly needs to be stressed. (5) No wonder either that Africa has been called 'the graveyard of the cooperative movement'. (Bouman, 1984)

It is perhaps true to say that, mainly due to the ideological but nevertheless artificial and therefore harmful chasm of prejudice which, by means of a

pects: spin-off benefits were implied to 'trickle down', eventually, to the less well-endowed segments of the economy or well-off sections of the population, thereby correcting the temporary imbalances.

Under the influence of a number of events (the world oil crisis of the seventies was an important one) and new insights (for example the exposure of near to blind confidence of modern man in science and technology as hubris, i.e. an arrogant lack of proportion) the consensus on the nature of development and the central role played by the West in this process has been gradually crumbling.

Whereas the West featured as superior for the very purpose of defining its relationship to the non-West and self-evidently was considered to be both the development model and provider of development aid, the realisation gradually dawned that

> "unless the West is the effective centre of the earth, there is no basis for definition of the entire rest of the world in categorical terms of contradistinction." (van Nieuwenhuijze, 1985, p.171)

Both the West and the fictitious entity of the 'Third World' are now searching for a new identity to replace the ideal of modernity which, with its narrowly economic overtones, is a typical product of Western lifestyle and ambition.

Both are held together in a configuration of One World of interaction-in-interdependence, not merely as a utopia, but as a necessary condition for survival.

The fundamental problem with industrial society and, because of the interdependency factor, global society as well, is, according to W. Harman (1984) that seemingly perfectly reasonable micro-decisions are currently, and at an accelerating pace, adding up to largely unsatisfactory macrodecisions. More specifically, microdecisions regarding the utilisation of vital resources such as water, air, land, minerals and fuels that are reasonable from the viewpoints of corporate management and stockbrokers, developers and local governments, result in macrodecisions that are unsatisfactory, and eventually suicidal, for society at large. Other examples of 'sensible' microdecisions which are turning into macro-disasters are in the field of employment and job-creation, increased productivity through technological innovation which, instead of benefiting the consumers, result into spiralling inflation because of salary-related microdecisions and the microdecisions which led to an affluent society for some, and an intolerable prospect of the present and the future for the majority.

> "The fundamental problem is not simply a matter of trade-offs...Rather, it is a flaw in the decision-making system that encourages individuals to choose on the basis of their own short-term, imprudent self-interest

> sources - the rich - can afford to invest heavily in the production of greater wealth, so they get richer. The poor have little to invest; their productivity consequently remains low, and they remain poor. Worse still, the market laws of supply and demand mean that the wealth of the few diverts the world's resources - including the labour of others - form meeting the real but ineffective demand of the poor into satisfying the luxury desires of the rich. Land and labour are used to cultivate grapes instead of grain; palaces are built instead of houses for the workers and peasants." (Nyerere, 1979, p.5)

This is quite a preamble to the subject of rural development, and at the same time an entire programme. Nyerere correctly puts the finger on the fact that conventional rural development, provided this problem was realised, which by no means was always the case, directed resources and rational-technical strategies at the problem of poverty, especially rural poverty without being overly bothered that this festering sore might be a symptom on a body ravaged by an all-pervasive disease-carrying organism, which Nyerere diagnoses as the trickle-up or, in its less severe but nevertheless strength-sapping manifestation, the 'sticking' syndrome, namely that

> "the major benefit of [the] new investment stays where it began - with the man who already has, and in proportion to the wealth which he already has. The poor benefit - or sometimes suffer - from the side-effects; or they receive the crumbs left over. Even nationally, the net result of a new private investment, described as an asset in the fight against poverty, is frequently a large foreign exchange commitment for the payment of interest and profit, and also the destruction of indigenous and wide-spread local production systems." (Nyerere, 1979, p.5)

One need only take one look at pre- and post-1949 China to realise that underdevelopment is man-made and that it, by the same token, can be undone by men. It is within this framework that Julius Nyerere offers his contribution to the rural development debate. According to Nyerere it is of crucial importance to understand that poverty and its eradication are not exclusively a matter for action by developing countries only, with developed countries as sympathetic and benevolent bystanders.

For a poor country like Tanzania to try to prevent or to eradicate exploitation of man by man will merely result, if all goes well, in more fairly distributed poverty. This is the basic, inescapable fact of life that the North-South discussions of the early 80s tried to address and redress. Unfortunately and mainly due to the simultaneous rise to power in that same period in the USA, Britain, West Germany and Japan especially, of governments whose basic philosophy is not to prevent, but to assist 'the man who already has' to benefit and profit even

more excessively from the free play of the market forces, the whole search for a 'New International Economic Order' has been put, together with measures to tackle the intimately linked problems of apartheid and oppressive regimes, on the back-burner. In terms of a more just International Order, our present eighties are a very depressing and dark era indeed.

For rural development to become a realistic and effective policy, we need, according to Nyerere, not merely a 'United Nations' (with its in-built and eminently undemocratic veto-right by the super-powers) but an effective world-government.

However far-fetched and utopian this may appear, this is, based on facts, an entirely logical conclusion:

> "It is not only within nations that we need to give priority to Rural Development. World growth, and world development, must also be based on a strategy of rural development. And for the world, the rural areas are the developing nations. Everything which I have said in relation to the implications of a strategy of rural development within nations can be applied to international economic and political relationships. The only exception - and it is an important one - is that we have no world government which can make decisions and enforce them." (emphasis added) (Nyerere, 1979, p.11)

The main reason why China could 'go it alone' with its rural development approach was because, with its one billion people it is truly a self-contained 'world' within the world and as recent Chinese history has shown, even China cannot go on playing such a role in an increasingly interdependent world. What the China example did show us, however, is that the problem has to be tackled simultaneously at the macro level. The fact remains that the present prevailing international climate is, de facto, unfavourably disposed to the point almost of being hostile, to any substantial progress towards a more just New International Economic Order (NIEO). Of necessity, therefore, our attention will be principally focused on the micro-level in the following pages.

This does not mean, however, that the global, macro perspective has ceased to be important or even essential. In the meantime, and as a 'meso' measure, one could consider strategies such as 'Counterdevelopment' which is 'the intervention to solicit the effort of (relatively small, local) groups, to realise in a participatory manner development goals and thus enhance their members' life chances in spite of and in opposition to societal mechanisms and processes which influence these chances adversely, as proposed by Galjart (1981). Seen from Nyerere's perspective this principle could equally be applied in a North-South

"rather, it is with this discipline as a conscious or unwitting exponent, of a world view which, for one thing, is on the way out, and for another, has never had more than dubious relevance when and where imposed outside its native lands." (van Nieuwenhuijze, 1985, p.185)

Harman (1984) has summarised the dominant characteristics of the now receding paradigm as follows:

- Development and application of scientific method; wedding of scientific and technological advance.

- Industrialisation through organisation and division of labour; machine replacement of human labour.

- Acquisitive materialism; work ethic; economic-man image; belief in unlimited material progress and in technological and economic growth.

- Man seeking control over nature; positivistic theory of knowledge; manipulative rationality as a dominant theme.

- Individual responsibility for own destiny; freedom and equality as fundamental rights; nihilistic value perspective, individual determination of the 'good'; society as an aggregation of individuals pursuing their own interests.

Alvin Toffler in his book 'The Third Wave' (1980) paints a 'practopian'* picture of what the third, post-industrial development wave - which will supplant the now obsolete 'second', i.e. industrial wave and even more so the pre-industrial, agricultural society of the 'first' wave -, will hold in store.

According to Toffler, there seems to be a remarkable congruity between First and Third Wave civilisation, a sense of déjà vu, a perception that the economics of poor nations have much more in common with the coming, future Third Wave than those of the passing Second Wave society. A reversal also of Lerner's 'passing of the traditional society':

"Tomorrow's 'development' strategies will come not from Washington or Moscow or Paris or Geneva, but from Africa, Asia and Latin America. They will be indigenous, matched to actual local needs. They will not overemphasize economics at the expense of ecology, culture, religion, or

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* Practopia, together with, e.g. 'prosumption', a typical 'Tofflerism': 'practopia' refers to the confluence of different strands. Third Wave economics would consist of a 'balance between the most advanced science and technology available to the human race and the 'Ghandian vision of the idyllic pastures', requiring a total transformation of society, i.e. the confluence of practical realism and utopia.

universalised western education system was explicitly or implicitly communicated to the minds of those who would stand to benefit most from it - present-day Third World leaders -, nothing has been learned from 'the chief success story in all nations' varying strategies of growth and change, China, which 'rejected the 'conventional wisdom' of both left and right 'and evolved its own uniquely effective response.' (Ward in Aziz, 1978, p.xi)

It may be equally true to say that, because of this, most Third World countries, rural development-wise, are still stuck in the issue-less rut of the industrialisation (including the industrialisation of agriculture) and urbanisation along the Soviet model also China engaged in in the early fifties until they, very quickly indeed, realised that

> "the pattern of rapid industrial growth, at the cost of agriculture, was hardly suitable for a country where 80 per cent of the population lived in the rural areas." (Aziz, 1978, p.91)

While it has to be conceded that the Chinese model, as most models, is unique, and cannot be exported as it stands, this does not mean, as Aziz' book tries to argue, that no eminently relevant lessons can be learned from it. The question can also be asked here what makes the Western model so relevant and superior that it is being transferred and exported to such places as Djibouti and the Arctic circle without further ado.

And Barbara Ward goes on to say:

> "No one contests China's quarter-century record of economic growth, social advance, conquest of inflation and unemployment and a sharp decrease in the rate of growth of the population. In fact, as Dr. Sartaj Aziz makes clear on the basis of what are probably the most reliable figures that can be pieced together, the Chinese have found solutions to virtually all the major problems posed by the first stages of modernisation - problems that have left all too many other nations caught in the trap of economic and social contradictions." (Introduction to Aziz, 1978, p.xi)

Since Barbara Ward wrote this, 'the West' and, for that matter, 'the East', and the economic shambles of the Eastern Bloc countries has seen several man-made disasters, of which the recent Ethiopian famine(s) are somehow a tragic symbol.

Nyerere puts rural development squarely into a global, not only economic, but also political and social context

> "under the economic, political, and social systems at present operating, the world's people are divided into two groups; those with access to its resources, and those without access. Those with access to existing re-

instead of their long-term, enlightened self-interest."
(Harman, 1984, p.13)

van Nieuwenhuijze exposes the 'Achilles heel of modernity', the very features of its success which now are turning into root causes of its undoing: the first is human control over reality - intellectual, then operational - which hinges on the analytical process of the human mind, to the point of, eventually, dealing with a segmented world: religious, cultural, social, economic, political:

> "In being elevated to a status of primacy, the economic segment is implicitly made to feature as a pars pro toto: come to terms with the economics of the problem, and the other aspects will follow suit. In fact, the other aspects are relegated to marginality. That this is inherently and necessarily problematic will become clear, belatedly." (van Niewenhuijze, 1985, p.179)

The same principle of segmentation applies to the relationship between man and fellow man: the former, abstract, categorical man, identified as subject, takes primacy over the universe. The latter (though equally abstract and categorical) is relegated to the status of object, tool instrument, economic asset. This ability to analyse and compartmentalise, and the built-in tension it creates, is both modernity's strength and weakness.

The second feature which carries the seeds of its own obsolescence is the fact that modernity, in order to be effective, needs to lay claim on potential or virtual universality of application. In this case, obstacles encountered in the effort to achieve universality are products of the expansiveness itself.

In the West, according to van Nieuwenhuijze, economism is on the wane, and there is only a hazy prospect of the imprint that will succeed it. The corresponding phenomenon in the Third World, developmentalism, is open to challenge, both as an orientation and as a practice: its presuppositions - modernity along the Western model coupled to Western domination and aid - have evaporated.

> "Under these conditions, the components of the figment that is named 'Third World' are thrown back upon themselves in what inevitably amounts to an identity crisis, a struggle for the public mind. The circumstance that sovereign states everywhere claim to have or be the answer can only deepen it." (van Nieuwenhuijze, 1985, p.179)

The tragic implied irony for low-income, pre-industrial nations is that they are committed to models of development which have been based on experiences and prevailing structures which, themselves, are proving to be unsustainable:

> "To the extent that pre-industrial nations remain committed to such models they are engaged in a quest which over the long term is futile, even self-defeating, no matter how successful they may be in obtaining greater resource transfers from the wealthier nations." (Korten, D., 1981, p.609)

There is the added irony of being burdened with the painful dilemmas of both worlds: they have affluent, modernised societies of doubtful sustainability in their own right, and all the more questionable since they are virtual islands of affluence in a sea of dehumanising poverty suffered by major portions of their population, who have little realistic prospect of ever achieving what are increasingly perceived not as merely the perks of privilege, but as basic human rights.

Whether capitalist or socialist, 'first' or 'third' world, the individual living in the modern state suffers from a syndrome of alienation and a sense of powerlessness brought about by the sharp dichotomisation of public and private life: both individual and societal needs become subordinated to the state's or big economic conglomerates' need to suppress individuality, initiative and creative innovation in the interest of bureaucratic convenience and efficiency. Given the power of what Berger and Neuhaus (1977) have termed 'megastructures' to direct and ordain the individual's life and even thought (through the all-pervasive media) the individual's vote accorded by representative democracy acts as a palliative rather than a counter-balance.

Social Development

In the search for a non-economic frame of reference which is to replace economism and developmentalism, the term 'social' is dropped most frequently. Since all terms (such as cultural, or egalitarian) have their drawbacks, the term 'social' would be acceptable provided it is reconceptualised and demarginalised. Demarginalised in the sense that 'social' - as it did in the past - does not continue to be equated with 'economic means towards social goals' (or vice versa), nor with an attempt to balance the social and economic aspects of development, as these are 'so many moons orbiting around the steady planet of economics' (van Nieuwenhuijze, 1985, p.170) attempts to bridge the gap (between 'social' and 'economic') which at closer examination, is more putative than real.

Reconceptualised, in the sense that it would refer to an effort not merely to 'rethink', but to 'think beyond' development, although, in the present climate of transition, pervasive economism, even its 'dying hour', continues to exert its hold over the mind.

The object of the exercise is not to substitute the present established paradigm with an alternative, 'social' one. What is at fault is not the discipline of economics as such,

context, through, for example, increased South-South cooperation (IFDA No.38, p.51).

Diana Conyers typifies the present economic, social and political climate as 'monetarist', which actually signifies a return in the international public opinion and consensus to the more base and lower instincts of humankind. (RDD, 86, p.10)

The Obsolescence of 'Economism' and 'Developmentalism'

It is symptomatic of the uncertainty and the breakdown of consensus over the last few years that such seemingly self-evident concepts as 'underemployment of labour' should come under question:

> "In the face of the overheated conservatism of trade unions and their politicians, questions are beginning to be raised about the significance of labour as a phenomenon specific Western modernity rather than as the natural and universal means to provide a person's livelihood." (van Nieuwenhuijze, 1985, p.182)

As a matter of fact, it is not only the components of what hitherto was thought to constitute 'development' but the very concept and ideal of development itself which has come under scrutiny.

According to van Nieuwenhuijze, the development idea(l) has gone through mainly three different stages or metamorphoses: from being an unknown entity (in the pre- and immediate post-World War II years) to a stage of lucidity and apparent credibility (thanks mainly to Rostow's 'stages of growth' theory) on to the present stage of transition and 're-thinking' of the whole concept itself.

What is clear is that development-as-we-know-it has its roots in the colonial domination-cum-dependence relationship which was extended, with the transfer of political sovereignty, from the then colonies to the wider circle of newly-independent nations.

> "Labelled 'underdeveloped', these were deemed - and reciprocally declared themselves - to stand in need of aid. This was provided as a matter of course by the developed countries: noblesse oblige. 'Development' became the catchword, and 'aid' its practice." (van Nieuwenhuijze, 1985, p.168)

The development catchword was given a mainly, albeit dubious, economic connotation, which had a pleasing effect on economically-inclined and trained bureaucrats and politicians while at the same time not unduly upsetting sociologists, educationists and other practitioners interested in non-economic as-

> family structure and the psychological dimensions of existence. They will not imitate any outside model. First Wave, Second Wave, or, for that matter, Third Wave." (Toffler, in Korten and Klaus, 1984, p.21)

Again, the emerging paradigm of social transformation and human advancement is likely to be more in tune with, for example, a Buddhist reading of development in terms of quality, than one associated with western infatuation with quantity.

Sulak Sivaraksa (1980, p.4) points out that the Pali or Sanskrit equivalent for 'development' means 'disorderliness' or 'confusion', and that in Buddhism 'development' can refer to regress as well as progress. Whereas 'the more the better' and 'the more quantity the more quality' equations are well in line with Western instincts, the Buddhist will expect true development to

> "arrange for the rhythm of life and movement to be in accordance with the facts, while maintaining awareness that human beings are but a part of the universe, and that ways must be found to integrate them with the laws of nature. There must be no boasting, no proud, self-centred attempts to master nature, no emphasis placed on the creation of material things to the point where people become slaves and have no time to search for truth which is beyond their realm." (Sivaraksa, 1980, p.7)

The Buddhist would willingly identify economism with the Buddhist triad of evils: lôbha (greed), the curse of those obsessed with increasing currency and things, dôsha (ill-will) the result of (the politician's) quest for power, necessary to satisfy greed, and môha (ignorance), the final outcome of measuring results in terms of quantity and power. People, who, in the final analysis are what 'development' is all about

> "have value only as a means to make numerical statistics look good on paper. No consideration is given to the fact that those people must endure tyranny, and are taken advantage of, while nature around them and their own style of living deteriorate." (Sivaraksa, 1980, p.7)

Instead, and in line with the Buddhist experience of development in Sri Lanka, in particular the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement, the driving force of development is from the village upward and its inspiration comes from Buddha's teaching of the Four Wheels: as a cart moves steadily on four wheels, likewise human development should rest on the four 'dhamma':

1. Dâna (sharing): be it goods, money, knowledge, time, labour, or what have you.

2. Piyayacha (Pleasant speech): which is more than mere polite talk. Rather it is speaking truthfully and sincerely, regarding everyone as equal.

3. Atthacâriya (working for each other's benefit).

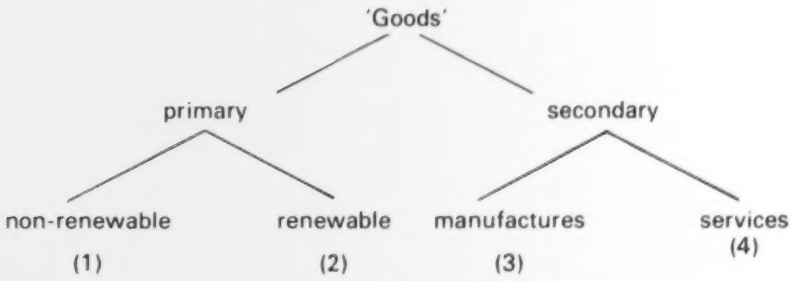
4. Samânata: means that Buddhism does not recognise classes, does not encourage one group to exploit the other. Buddhist socialism is possible without state capitalism or any form of totalitarianism.

Central Focus on People, Rather than Economics

The fundamental self-deception of economism is to pretend that a price tag can be attached to any 'good' which by the same token then becomes a commodity and equal in value with any other commodity, i.e. they can be exchanged, traded and, most importantly, be made 'profitable'.

Schumacher's taxonomy of economic goods exposes a stubborn myth simply by referring us to the real world and forcing us to have a fundamental respect for it. (Table Five)

Table Five



Source: (Schumacher, 1973, p.45)

The 'aberrant premise' upon which economism is based is that all (economic) 'goods' are basically the same. Schumacher challenges this:

> 'There could hardly be a more important distinction, to start with, than that between primary and secondary goods, because the latter presuppose the availability of the former. An expansion of man's ability to bring forth secondary products is useless unless it is preceded by an expansion

> of his ability to win primary products from the earth, for man is not a producer but only a converter, and for every job of conversion he needs primary products. In particular, his power to convert depends on primary energy, which immediately points to the need for a vital distinction within the field of primary goods, that between non-renewable and renewable. As far as manufactures are concerned, there is an obvious and basic distinction between manufactures and services. We thus arrive at a minimum of four categories, each of which is essentially different from each of the three others." (Schumacher, 1973, p.45)

For economism, there are no goods as such, only 'commodities', and what distinguishes them from each other is the rate of profit that can be 'extracted' by providing them or selling them on the market place.

This applies even to such unlikely 'commodities' as, for example education. Nyerere in this respect sharply observes that the hidden curriculum of the type of education introduced by the colonialists in Tanzania (as in so many other places) teaches the individual 'to regard himself as a commodity, whose value is determined by certificates, degrees or professional qualifications':

> "There are professional men who say: 'My market value is higher than the salary I am receiving in Tanzania.' But no human being has a market value - except a slave...[By saying] 'This education I have been given has turned me into a marketable commodity, like cotton, or sisal, or coffee.' [And] they are showing that instead of liberating their humanity by giving it a greater chance to express itself, the education they received has degraded their humanity." (Nyerere, 1975, p.4)

One reason why the economist myth, apart from having become the 'new religion' of the twentieth century, took such easy hold over people's minds and imagination may be that the vehicle of transmission itself (education) has been shaped by this myth.

It has also to be said here, that, in contrast to Schumacher's 'people's' economics, Toffler, with all respect for his refreshing enthusiasm and the originality of his insights, stops short of invalidating the root of what is fundamentally wrong with the 'second wave', and, in the final analysis, he regrettably seems not to be able to break out of the suffocating confines of the dominant economistic paradigm. Third Wave or not, in the final analysis Toffler does not deliver us from the stranglehold of the 'con-fusion' of the end (of production, i.e. human welfare

and happiness) and the means (production) have had over society and its mores* ever since the onset of the industrial revolution when capital accumulation, competitiveness and profit maximisation took pride of place in society.

It is symptomatic of the nihilistic tendency of our times that abstaining from what development is all about (human welfare and happiness) is considered a virtue in itself. Meanwhile people spend a major portion of their lives in the process of production. The end is presumed to flow automatically from the application of the means. Second wave civilisation was revolutionary in that, for the first time the seemingly small step from concentrating on the means instead of on the end was taken. Never before in human history have those means, production for the sake of production been pursued with such dogged persistence as in our age.

What is wrong with the second wave is not necessarily industrialisation (as Toffler would have it) as such, not even the 'economics of the market place', both of which have always existed to a larger or lesser degree in all societies and which are essentially neutral activities. What makes them good or bad is the mentality, the spirit, the framework within which those two activities are executed. And the spirit of the 'second wave' has been unmistakably profit-maximisation, not people-centredness as we now are beginning to discover all too belatedly, but hopefully to our benefit.

If the 'third wave' is merely going to be a different form of a mindless, blind pursuit of production for production's sake in which people basically remain objects, carriers of developments, instead of development's conscious subjects, without ever putting into question not just the symptoms, but what was radically wrong with the second wave, then those who were most exploited and had to pay the cost of the second wave's partial success have cause for fear and trembling. Because Toffler's Third Wave does not put Second Wave teleology (or lack of it) into question, he cannot offer the least-protected any protection against the perpetuation of those structures under a different form and a different name, namely

> "In the place of this we will see a situation where the rich countries will hold on to a certain number of key industries that will need an infinitely smaller number of people to maintain because production processes will have totally changed. [Third Wave civilisation] is intent on exploiting the Third World much more subtly than erstwhile by supplying them with a

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* mores: moral code (Latin). (As in "O tempora, o mores": Alas for the times! Alas for the morals!)

> number of sophisticated instruments in exchange for food, primary products, and cheap labour which are the mainstay of the mass production of such things as textiles, chips, assembly plants etc. As a matter of fact, events are already moving in that direction." (Coolsaet, 1981, p.4)

The supreme prerequisite of a genuine Third Wave would therefore be the courage to put the values and engine of the Second Wave themselves into question. This engine is, as already mentioned, production for the sake of production, profit maximisation and competition. In this climate, material goods (commodities) science and technology grow exponentially for a small minority and for a limited period of time, that is. While knowledge and power for this group increases, its reverse side is a physical and moral black hole: expletion of natural resources and absence of 'soul', because a development which does not carry, and does not intend to carry, every human being in its wake, is ultimately dehumanising and alienating for the beneficiary: he has, like Faust, gained knowledge and power (in a continuous burst of feverish, aimless activity) but, in the end, lost his soul.

New insights in the nature of scientific and social knowledge point to the need to go beyond mere social welfare delivery (in affluent societies) and 'Basic Needs Satisfaction' ('closing the gap' ILO-style) approaches, which, however laudable, leave their recipients in the role of passive recipients. Demarginalised and reconceptualised social development intends to put the soul back in a soul-less body wracked by the fever of aimless, all-consuming activity.

A more holistic content of the concept of human advancement and social development will of necessity require what Thomas refers to as the 'added human value component' which he defines as 'a sense of self-worth and a personal capacity for actively participating in life's important decisions.' (Thomas in: Garcia-Zamor, 1985, p.17)

Passive, reactive recipients have to become active, participant contributors in the development process, and in that sense one can agree with Thomas' definition of social development as

> "The liberation of human beings and communities from [being] passive recipients toward a developed, active citizenry capable of participating in choices about community issues." (Thomas in: Garcia-Zamor, 1985, p.18)

Rural Social Development (R.S.D)

The one major research work so far on the subject of rural social development is the study conducted by Peter Oakley and David Winder (1981) at the request of OXFAM) and with financial assistance from OXFAM and ESCOR/O.D.A.*

As they themselves point out, they were, in turn, influenced by earlier work by, especially, de Silva (1972), Haque (1977), Galjart (already mentioned), Griffin (1968), Long (1977) and van Nieuwenhuijze (1979)

Meanwhile the two Kortens (1980 and 1983) David Marsden (1984), Bryant and White (1984), Diana Conyers (1986) and others have joined the fray.

Two recent and significant events are the Spring 1986 issue of the Journal 'Regional Development Dialogue' published by the United Nations Centre for Regional Development, Nagoya, Japan with, among others, Harry Blair, Diana Conyers, and G.S. Cheema on the editorial Board, and an equally recent, wholly new addition, the 'Journal of Social Development in Africa' published in Zimbabwe** and which regularly runs articles specifically on the subject of rural social development.

This is definitely a 'body of knowledge' which is fully in the process of being formed.

When trying to determine what precisely is meant by the term 'rural social development' it would appear that 'Regional Development Dialogue' is favouring the more restricted, mechanistic and localistic interpretation.

Judging by Diana Conyers' article 'Social analysis for local social development planning', the emphasis on R.D.D. is definitely on social development as a localised and applied (planning) discipline. (Conyers, 1986, p.1)

The local social development planner is, according to Conyers,

> 'someone who sees himself responsible for trying to bring about some sort of planned change in the locality where he works.' (Conyers, 1986, p.2)

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* Advisory Committee for Economic and Social Committee for Overseas Research/Overseas Development Administration.

** School of Social Work, P/Bag 66022, Kopje, Harare.

Conyers loosely defines 'locality' as

> "the 'bottom end' of the organisational hierarchy, the point at which direct interaction between 'government' and 'people' is most likely to occur." (Conyers, 1986, p.4)

In practice and more precisely, the concept of 'locality' and 'community' appear to be interchangeable. (Clark, 1973, p.21)

> "Both words suggest some form of identity or cohesion, but in the case of 'locality' these characteristics apply to the geographical area, while in the case of 'community' they refer to a group of people." (Conyers, 1986, p.10)

In rural areas in the Third World those two concepts often coincide, whereas this is least the case for urban areas which consist of conglomerates of uprooted rurals from a vast variety of geographical areas, including foreign nationals and expatriates.

The emphasis of local social development will be therefore of necessity more o the 'local community' which implies

> "a group of people whose interests are interrelated and who identify themselves with, and achieve significance as members of, the group." (Clark, 1973, p.21)

The 1981 Oakley and Winder Research Project

It is a measure of the pioneering nature of the above research project that before the 1981 publication by the Manchester Papers on Development there existed no literature to speak of on the subject of rural social development.

As a matter of fact, six years later, theirs is still the most comprehensive study in circulation. It may be regretted that the promised second stage of their project, which would concentrate on a clearer understanding of the rural social development change process in order to construct some form of R.S.D. methodology which would enable participants 'to anticipate the consequences of certain strategies and, if necessary, modify and adapt their approach' (1981, p.4), never materialised.

Oakley and Winder's aim was to identify, describe and analyse an alternative approach to rural development which emerged in the mid-seventies and which rejects the paternalistic overtones of conventional development programmes in which the rural poor are passive recipients. To do this they investigated a number of rural development projects in India and Latin America (a total of twenty-five in six countries), although they refrain from making reference to the

names of the actual institutions and people involved 'in view of the sensitive and confidential nature of some of the issues discussed' (1981, Preface).

Although no straightforward definition of rural social development can be found in Oakley and Winder they maintain that it is composed of three constituent elements:

i. the development of a clearly identified group.

ii. by means of some kind of non-formal educational process.

iii. for some kind of non-material objectives.

In all cases there is an economic base, usually agricultural, which attempts to improve the productive capacity of the project group. Those economic base activities are undertaken in a certain 'spirit': in a manner which is most likely to strengthen the group collectively and 'fosters the kinds of non-material objectives which the project as a whole is seeking.' (Oakley and Winder, 1981, p.11)

Haque (1977, p.15) and Bhoomi Sena (de Silva, 1979) are identified as the 'pre-cursors' of respectively R.S.D. theory and practice.

Under the title 'Rural Development Reconsidered' Wahidul Haque (et al.) outline a theoretical base of rural development which 'reconsiders' the all too easily accepted wisdoms of the conventional model. Rural Development, they argue, must be seen essentially as a dialectical process centred around five core concepts which stand inseparably together:

i. Man as the end of development - which is therefore judged by what it does to him.

ii. De-alienation of man, in the sense that he feels at home with the process of development in which he becomes the subject as well as the object.

iii. Development of collective personality of man in which he finds his richest expression.

iv. Participation as the true form of democracy.

v. Self-reliance as the expression of man's faith in his own abilities. (Haque, 1977, p.19)

Oakley and Winder come to the conclusion that in both India and Latin America those tendencies are most likely to take root in the context of an informal, unstructured NGO-network and even more importantly and promisingly, newly emerging self-promoting indigenous agencies.

It was also noticed that - perhaps not surprisingly because of the heavy preponderance of Roman Catholicism in the area - the theoretical basis for R.S.D. projects was much more unified and solid in Latin America than in India.

It is nevertheless remarkable that, when queried on this specific subject, both Latin American and Indian project staff indicated as their prime source of theoretical understanding (inspiration) and general information the writings of Paulo Freire.

The other strong driving force behind the projects, in Latin America at least, appeared to be the theology of liberation (e.g. Guttierez, 1973).

It may perhaps come as some surprise that even in India 'radical church thinking from other continents' had an influence which far outstrips the christian church's nominal following in that subcontinent.

Project workers in India however specified that more likely than not they had acquired knowledge and understanding of the above through contact with or time spent at some University or Institute of Higher Education abroad. (Oakley and Winder, 1981, p.13)

As regards an indigenous inspiration source, project workers in India cited a tradition of 'peasant protest and mobilisation which, periodically, have been dominant features of India rural society.' (Oakley and Winder, 1981, p.13) Experience of the Bhoomi Sena type cannot but act as a powerful example and driving force.

It has also to be noted that, with local variations, there was agreement as to the root-cause of rural underdevelopment. One of the dominant features of the Latin American analysis is 'the dependent and marginalised nature of peasants' lives' whereas 'landlessness', 'powerlessness' and 'alienation' figure prominently in the Indian analysis. (Oakley and Winder, 1981, p.14)

Local Social Development and Rural Social Development: a Comparison

The Oakley and Winder R.S.D.-study project predates the UNCRD document on L.S.D. by five years: expecting the term R.S.D. being referred to by at least one author writing in the Regional Development Dialogue would not be entirely unjustified. However, a thorough search of the 1986 UNCRD 221-page document does not produce a single reference to it.

In extremely general terms, both L.S.D. and R.S.D. do agree that the development they are promoting has people, not material production or growth, as its primary focus.

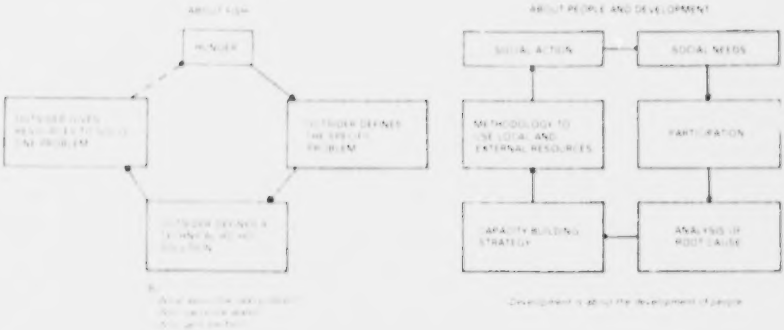
On the basis of very sparse material to go by on the subject it would appear then that over the last ten years or so, two different branches of the 'social development family' have been evolving: on the one hand the 'rural social development' branch in which Oakley and Winder figure prominently and elements of which

one finds for example in the new Zimbabwean 'Journal of Social Development in Africa': de Graaf's inaugural article (1986, p.7) is much more in tune with Oakley and Winder than with the UNCRD interpretation of social development and some articles in the JSDA refer explicitly to the term 'rural social development'.*

The other Branch is, of course, very solidly the UNCRD with their insistence on the term 'local social development' (L.S.D.).

Table 6, taken from de Graaf's 1986 article, is an illustration of the degree to which his and Oakley and Winder's view on social development coincide. The flow of 'A' diagram (in Table 6) has all to do with delivery of whatever is thought as being good, or better, for the recipient. In diagram 'B', in which 'there is not really any starting point in the continuous process and where the various stages

Table Six



Source: de Graaf 1986

* e.g. J.W. Maliya "Success and failures of rural social development in the SADCC Region and Tanzania" (JSDA 86:2) although 'rural' in this article stands more in opposition to 'urban' than the 'people-power' connotation ascribed to it by Oakley and Winder.

are mutually determined', elements like 'the analysis of the root cause' and 'capacity building strategies' occupy a prominent place.

Such elements are not immediately apparent in the UNCRD definition of local social development, least of all, one would guess, in the restrictive and 'tame' description of local social development planning, by Padungkarn, as 'an attempt by government to involve people and to collaborate with them in setting up an harmonious course of action' a definition with which most Regional Development Dialogue authors, including Diana Conyers, would not fully agree, but with nevertheless one factor which seems to unite UNCRD writing, namely the central importance of government or a government-related institution.

This contrasts with the major 1981 Oakley and Winder finding that most rural social development projects were NGO-directed even if some do receive some government assistance.

It is understandable that UNCRD by virtue of being a United Nations-financed organisation, is more concerned with how governments, rather than non-government agencies can be involved in social development, and that they are therefore more inclined towards 'harmonious', possibly institutionalised forms than the inherent unpredictability and open-endedness of a more vigourous, 'free-lance' R.S.D. interpretation.

While it is increasingly recognised, in rural development terms, that government-sponsored organisations with their tendency to favour inordinately large bureaucracies with their wasteful use of scarce resources are rather part of the problem than of the solution whereas non-government organisations are increasingly seen as pointing the way towards the solution be it only for the fact that they are, almost by definition, more flexible, resource-conscious and responsive to local needs, there seems to be nevertheless in recent years a convergence of ideas and purpose.

But even inside NGO's, perceptions have been changing, so much so that now there is talk of 'Third generation' non-government organisations, 'first generation' referring to the original concern of such organisations with (food) relief and welfare (charity), 'second generation' representing the focus on small-scale local development projects, with 'third generation' organisations being increasingly committed to 'sustainable changes in policy and institutional settings for people's groups'. (R.D.D., 1986, p.67)

R.S.D. deals mainly with qualitative outcomes (such as conscientization, collective will, sense of solidarity etc): it would be premature, if at all possible, to make a comparative study at this early stage, of respectively L.S.D. and R.S.D. theory and practice.

What can be said, based for example on the increasing number of 'third generation' NGO projects and by a deeper understanding by organisations such as UNRDC of the full implications of what they call 'local' social development, the two are on ever narrowing convergent courses which were already parallel by virtue of their common 'social' denominator: UNCRD and 'official' agencies discovering and appreciating the relevance and importance of what is happening 'down' at and by the grassroots, NGO's and 'unofficial' instances looking increasingly 'upward' towards some form of institutionalisation of what they already achieved, for the sake of sustainability.

Empowerment and Participation

Empowerment. Failures of the Past: Community Development and Animation Rurale

Rural development, as we have seen, requires government action and is of such global import that it would postulate the existence even of a world government. (re: pp.20 and 35) There are, however, limits to what governments are capable of doing. Mindful of Nyerere's maxim that 'people cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves', governments, professionals and bureaucrats cannot bring about development, the most they can do is to create favourable conditions. They can organise, guide and help, they cannot 'do'.

> "For rural development is people's development of themselves, their lives and environment. And the people cannot do it if they have no power." (emphasis added) (Nyerere, 1979, p.8)

Since the early 70's, because of an increased awareness of and concentration on the rural poor as the focal point of rural development, there has been a re-emergence of interest in Community Development, which was first talked about (at the British Colonial Office Cambridge conference of 1948) as a feasible strategy to prepare the then colonies for independence and which reached, as a movement, its apogee in the early 60's. At that time the UN estimated that over sixty countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America had Community Development programmes in operation.

However,

> "even by 1960, some community development programmes were faltering, and by 1965 most had been terminated or drastically reduced in scope to the extent that they were no longer considered by national leaders to be major national development efforts. By the late 1950's, donors, including United Nations agencies and those of the United States, appeared disillusioned and shifted their resources in support of new initiatives, such as the 'green revolution." (Holdcroft, 1982, p.209)

If indeed it is true that there is a renewed interest in Community Development, it is all-important to investigate the reasons for this rapid 'rise and fall' of the C/D movement. If community development is

> "a joint effort to solve common problems democratically and scientifically on a community basis." (Holdcroft, 1982, p.220)

and by that token people-centred and potentially empowering, what then were the apparent weaknesses, if not in its conceptualisation, then in its implementation?

What has to be remembered is that, historically, community development emerged, principally, as part of the US and the UK government's three-pronged approach to their foreign policy in the late 40's and early 50's, which also happened to the height of the 'cold war' hype

- military assistance, seen as essential to counteract the 'threat of military agression by the enemy'.

- economic assistance meant to 'build democracy and prevent internal subversion and internal revolution'.

- socio-policital 'aid' i.e. Community Development.

The mere fact that C/D was seen as the 'third horse' in a military-economic troika did not augur too well for its wholehearted acceptance among the 'target' populations. If this was indeed the prime objective, the word 'pacification', rather than empowerment would come to the mind.

In view of its basic 'make friends and influence people' philosophy, the fatal lack of integration, the stress on social services delivery (often to the detriment of the economic component which for governments interested in visible results is particularly galling) and above all its reliance on civil servants (with their inbred mercenary attitudes) rather than reliance on village workers from and supported by the community, and the lack of member-controlled, organisational build-up with a corresponding lack of a network of linkages with similar minded local power-groups, the odds stacked against C/D becoming a truly empowering force were too high.

The most crippling weakness of C/D was, however, its lack of attention to the inhibiting effects of <u>structural constraints</u>

> "Harmonising the opposing effects of different groups of people in communities became the hallmark of Community Development. However, this limited the scope for progress in favour of the poor due to the <u>absence of structural change</u>, in practice. Community Development excluded marginalised people from training as community leaders. Plan-

> ning of development stayed the prerogative of the government and the rural elite from where its Community Development workers had been recruited. The movement, which had its origin in the colonial times became identified with progress of the rural elite and not the rural poor." (Kronenburg, 1986, p.240)

Animation Rurale:

Animation rurale is the francophone version of C/D as practiced in anglophone countries, but the two, in their originators, conceptualisation and practical implementation do not at all overlap.

Although the origins of C/D may be traced as far back as the 1920's (the term was first commonly used to indicate community participation in municipal planning in the United States) by its cooption in US and UK foreign policy it came to be seen as a mainly government initiated and institutionalised endeavour.

Animation rurale's conceptual and philosophical cradle was the catholic left in France, after the second World War.

It was, and basically remained, an attempt to steer a path between Marxist socialism and capitalism in the development of France's 'territoires d'Outre Mer'.

Its originators were a catholic priest, Louis-Jean Lebret, Founder of IFRED (Institut de Recherche et Formation pour l'éducation) and IRAM (Institut de Recherches et d'Application de Methodes de Développment) and his close IFRED and IRAM collaborators, Yves Gousseault, Roland Collin and Guy Belloncle (Belloncle, 1984).

In its conceptualisation, Animation Rurale had a stronger theoretical base than Community Development, not least because of its serious reflection on the need of active participation of the community and a pedagogy which such an approach would require. In this aspect A.R. contrasted sharply with the then current methods which tended to exclude consultation with the people concerned at the planning stage and forced them to work on schemes which had been thought out and organised without them.

The real point of divergence between C.D. and A.R. is the degree of participation that is expected: for Community Development, the involvement of people by asking them for their 'felt needs' is often not much more than a round-about, back-door way to get what the development agent had in mind all along: modernisation and/or greater productivity, i.e. participation as a means towards an ulterior end.

Animation rurale tends to take people more seriously than this: the expected and necessary participation is open-ended and valued for its own sake.

Another important difference with Community Development is the nature and the place of the change agent, called 'Animateur: being in principle, of the community, i.e. a man or woman chosen and maintained by the community from which s/he is taken for training sessions which never last long enough to allow them to 'lose touch' (and being supported by the community, this also applies in the economic sense), his or her true function is that of being an interface between the community and 'upper echelons' whoever or whatever that might be.

Basic elements in the A.R. strategy are:

a nucleus of 'animateurs'.

a village, centrally located, functioning as focus of development strategies.

a single multi-purpose cooperative as the economic base of those strategies.

a development programme planned jointly by the administrators and the partner(s).

Since A.R. did not need an army of civil servants to spread the message, the dreaded bureaucratic infighting to which C.D. tended to be prone was never an immediate or obvious problem.

The ultimate 'seal of quality', in people empowerment terms, can be found perhaps in the fact that its main architect in Senegal, Mamadou Dia, Leopold Senghor's prime minister from 1959 to 1962, was summarily dismissed by Senghor before the 'agrarian socialist society' he had announced at the beginning of his term, had had time to establish itself, let alone to bear fruit.

The end of the 'Senegalese adventure' was at the same time the 'coup de grâce' for Animation Rurale as a substantial agrarian 'force de frappe' in competition with and as alternative to established R.D. thinking.

Empowerment in the 80's: FFHC/AD 1985 Consultation on South Asian People's Associations. (Khan & Bhasin in IFDA 1986)

What prompted the FAO Freedom from Hunger Campaign/Action for Development (FFHC/AD) to call a consultation meeting, - as it happened, in a tiny village, Koitta, 60 kilometers outside Dhaka - Koitta, Manikanj, which boasts the Porshika Centre for Human Development - was the realisation that about half of the world's poor live in South Asia.

For over ten years FFHC/AD had been trying to foster horizontal communication between like-minded NGO's* within and between countries in Asia. This was done mainly by means of consultations, workshops, training programmes and through the production and distribution of relevant documents. With the same objective, FFHC/AD contributed to the creation of the Asian Cultural Forum on Development (ACFOD) and has been supporting other regional networks like the one Pacific and Asian Women's Forum.

The objectives of the 5-day consultation meeting were:

facilitating and sharing of ideas and experiences among like-minded NGO's from South Asia and the North.

evolving a common understanding of the present nature of rural poverty in South Asia.

seeking to evolve a common understanding on the strategies for future action.

A total of 46 persons were selected, most of whom senior workers and decision-makers of NGO's working in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. In the selection of candidates care was taken that major areas and different levels would be included, e.g. NGO's working with landless people, marginal farmers, tribals, fish workers, artisans and plantation workers. Some of them organise around issues of land and resources, others around environmental issues, or women issues. Many NGO's are involved in one way or another in sectoral issues such as health, nutrition, family planning, non-formal education, people's science and development communication.

Among the participants were also action researchers who use their research to strengthen the processes of empowering the poor as well as developing methodologies that allow a closer relationship between research and action.

Other participants represented NGO's whose main task is to service grassroots level NGO's and to provide a forum through which grassroots NGO's might interact and develop a dialogue and solidarity among themselves.

In all, participants were highly motivated, committed and idealistic people, many of whom had given up comfortable and lucrative careers to work towards the creation of a more just society.

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* According to the authors of the report, Khan & Bhasin, the term 'NGO' seems to be politically mistaken as it implies that government is the centre of society, and people its periphery. Under NGO the report understands people's associations which foster self-reliance and empowerment, or self-promoting organisations.

The methodology of the consultation was unconventional in that it was not geared to any pre-determined agenda nor at arriving at well formulated conclusions and recommendations: the methodology was to keep the interaction informal and open-ended within an overall structure determined by the participants themselves.

This informality and open-endedness ensured not only better personal interaction and mutual knowledge of each other's background, but also a flow of ideas and a type of dialogue necessary for a common understanding of the issues.

ORP's as Vehicles of Empowerment:

As for the basic starting point, the Koitta meeting does not mince its words:

> "In the region as a whole, the nature of development has been the development of capitalism, not least because, with the exception of Nepal, the region has been linked to the word capitalist system initially through colonialism and, since independence, through foreign assistance, loans and trade. Development in the region therefore has neither been independent nor 'appropriate' in that it has not been based on the needs of the majority of the people nor on the specificities of the natural terrain or local institutions. This type of 'subsidiary' development that links into and serves industrial development elsewhere (predominantly that in the West but also in the Communist bloc, and, more recently, in industrial countries like Japan) applies to both agricultural and industrial development both of which in many cases are linked." (emphasis added) (IFDA No 53, p.9)

The purpose of quoting this text in extenso is to demonstrate the crucial importance of a thorough analysis of the national and international 'development' context if social development, be it of the L.S.D. or R.S.D. variety, is to have any real impact at all.

In South-East Asia, as in the rest of the Third World, agricultural development has been based on the production of cash crops and on generating a surplus, not for people, but for industrial growth. As this agriculture is geared to external and internal (to the towns) exports, the larger farmers who are in a position to produce this surplus almost 'on command' have benefited disproportionally.

This bias, however, comes at a price: the increasing control by those large farmers of the resources available (particularly, but not only, land), again to the detriment of people.

This type of agricultural development is specifically responsible for the ever worsening landlessness and marginalisation of the rural poor. Women, for

whom least alternative occupations exist, it has to be noted, are the first group to be marginalised, and women constitute half of any population.

Industrial development in the region has been capital - rather than labour-intensive although preference was given to mass production of cheap consumer goods rather than to heavy industry. Again, the already poor and powerless suffered doubly from this type of development: industry was in position to absorb more than a tiny fraction of those displaced from the rural areas by the industrialisation of agriculture, while at the same time indigenous cottage-industries and artisanal activities were made redundant, thus deepening the problem.

Industries and industrialised agriculture are voracious consumers of infrastructural and energy inputs, the problem being that the poor rely on those same (scarce) resources, not to produce 'surpluses' but merely to survive:

> "Thus the building of roads, dams, irrigation schemes, the exploration of oil, coal, gas and other natural resources: the need for wood, etc, has not only, in many cases, forced out the rural poor from the areas of these activities, but has taken away from the rural poor the control of and access to the very resources on which they depend.' (emphasis added) (IFDA No 53, p.10)

The principal moving force behind this unilateral development was not an independent, conscious decision in the South Asia region as such, but rather because of its linkages with the principally Western, political system. The local - as always urban-biased and self-colonising - power-elite have merely been the executioners.

The Khan & Bhasin report then gives an interesting analysis of the linkages between economic and military assistance to the region: economic power and cultural distance (as proven by the recent 1986, events in the Philippines) are usually not sufficient for the ruling class to perpetuate itself: they need bolstering up by the force of arms, and military assistance is only too eagerly supplied by those powers which stand to benefit most from the maintenance of the 'siphoning off' system.

> "Defence budgets in the region siphon off a large percentage of the national budgets. In Pakistan and Bangladesh, the percentage of the national budget spent on defence ranges from 60-70%, while the amount spent in India (25%) is at least as much, if not more, in real terms." (IFDA No 53, p.11)

As nothing comes free in life, a price has to be paid for this preference for military might and deterrence: the short-term 'security' and interests of small

minorities are paid for by the long-term interests and development prospects of the people as a whole.

And the report concludes

> "The urgency of the situation for the rural poor cannot be overemphasised because, in effect, these policies have virtually resulted in a war on the rural poor, a war that shows no signs of abating. The rural poor must therefore be empowered not only to fight back, but to regain the ownership and control of the resources that were originally theirs." (emphasis added) (IFDA No 53, p.11)

The agencies directly responsible for the present state of affairs are identified as the State and Corporate Power. Since they are the principal actors in the 'war against the poor' it would be utterly inconsistent to look up to them in the search for an agent which might put a stop to this 'war' situation. In some respects it would be tantamount to asking the leopard to change his spots.

The appearance on the scene of an alternative change agent is therefore of the utmost importance and urgency.

This alternative agency in South Asia, can, according to the participants at the Consultation, not be the local traditional parties, not even those of the opposition because, 'even where they are not allowed political expression (as in Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh) they are still a part of the dominant power structure'.

In theory, the 'traditional left' who write concern for (all) people over concern for a particular, powerful, privileged class in their banner, could offer a basis for an alternative system.

Experience has proven, though, that 'the left' is only an alternative in appearance: in practice they, too, base their development strategies on industrialisation and state ownership and control, which may guarantee access to national resources and employment, but which stops short of the real objective: return of ownership and control of these resources to their original owners: the now marginalised poor.

Serious doubts may also be raised as to whether the traditional class contradictions culminating in the 'victory' of the (urban/rural) 'working' class over the (urban/rural) bourgeoisie apply in a region where individual classes themselves are differentiated by caste, gender, urban-rural, land-based and other resource-based contradictions.

Hence the Consultation Group found it necessary to find an alternative not only to the dominant (State and Corporation) power, but also to the traditional left.

And they come to the conclusion that,

> "In a forum that was bringing together a wide range of NGO's working in multiple and diverse ways to empower the poor it was thought possible that such an alternative agency and an alternative vision could be provided by such NGO's, if they could agree on a common alternative and a common programme of mutual linkages, support and collaboration." (IFDA No 53, p.12)

South Asian ORP Priorities

Ownership by the poor of primary productive resources appeared to be the hub around which all the other issues gravitated. Those resources are: land, water and forests. South Asian NGO's thereby echo the basic tenets of the 1974 Cocoyoc Declaration:

> "Our first concern is to redefine the whole purpose of development. This should not be to develop things but to develop man. Human beings have basic needs: food, shelter, clothing, health and education. Any process of growth that does not lead to their fulfilment - or, even worse, disrupts them - is a travesty of development." (in: Galtung. 1980, p.405)

The Consultation unanimously agreed that for those - self-defined and locally provided-for - basic needs, agrarian reform (including reforms in the access to and control of water, irrigation, forests and pastures) would be an essential prerequisite. This is not merely a matter of wishful thinking, but

> "the participants agreed that, as a group, they recognised the right of the poor to [this] primary resource base: that they recognised the need for NGO's to work to help the poor to re-acquire [this ownership]: that they recognised the need to work to diminish the erosion of this resource base and they agreed that NGO's must work for essential changes in the power structure." (emphasis added) (IFDA No 54, p.15)

As for the practicalities of such a literally vital issue, the group agreed that this alternative development need not be utopian (in the commonly accepted sense of unrealistic or irrational) nor simplistic (in the sense of an attempt to revert to some idealistic past): the production of surpluses is positively included, provided those surpluses are produced and determined by the poor, i.e. the producers of food must be fed first. Also, instead of being simplistic, a development geared to local needs and to the needs of the majority would 'require very advanced levels of science and technology'. Knowledge would need to be at the same time highly sophisticated and yet based on indigenous knowledge and easily understood and handled by all.

It is worth noting that the Koitta Consultation methodology and practice is a microcosm of what ideally should happen on a world scale.

The Consultation found that there are hopeful signs that this process has already started in the region. They mention for example collaboration between feminist researchers and women activists - 'without women no development' - (L. Bown 1984), between researchers and the Fish Workers movement in India; between scientists and NGO's working on environmental issues; and between doctors, engineers, architects and NGO's.

Other fields of cooperation would be between NGO's and groups working on alternative media and communications,

> "With the help of communication experts NGO's need to establish alternative networks of information, develop alternative communication programmes, document NGO efforts in the region and disseminate this information as widely as possible, Since there are few groups in the region in development communication, those that do exist must make their service available to NGO's in the neighbouring countries." (IFDA No 54, p.19)

It is suggested that, when sufficient mutual understanding has been achieved - and past experience has shown that this process cannot be hurried - through interaction of the types described above, then. gradually, alliances can be forged on specific issues and NGO's can start thinking of taking up joint programmes.

The Consultation group decided against making general recommendations on the subject on consolidation and solidarity. Instead, it was suggested that,

> "the NGO's should start a campaign to challenge the rapid and continuous erosion of the primary and productive resource base of the poor (land, water, forests) and to struggle to restore the ownership and control of these resources by the poor." (IFDA No 54, p.19)

Within the framework of this broad issue, narrower, short-term issues should be identified in order to start up joint campaigns. Some of the suggestions brought forward were;

participatory and action-oriented research to gather information and to develop a critique of the negative developments taking place in the region.

dissemination of this information and mobilisation of public opinion,

action programmes to challenge harmful policies.

action to experiment with programmes and strategies for (alternative) development.

And at all times

> "these alternatives have to be carefully planned and constantly monitored to ensure that they are empowering the poor and not getting them coopted in the existing system." (emphasis added) (IFDA No 54, p.19)

Participation: a Missing Ingredient, a Means or an End?

Strategy by Textbook: the Blueprint Approach

As was already mentioned in Chapter 2, rural development programmes have been initiated by existing government bodies or by specialised agencies and this applied even to 'socially'-minded programmes such as Community Development and, to a lesser degree, Animation Rurale. (cfr. pages 54-55).

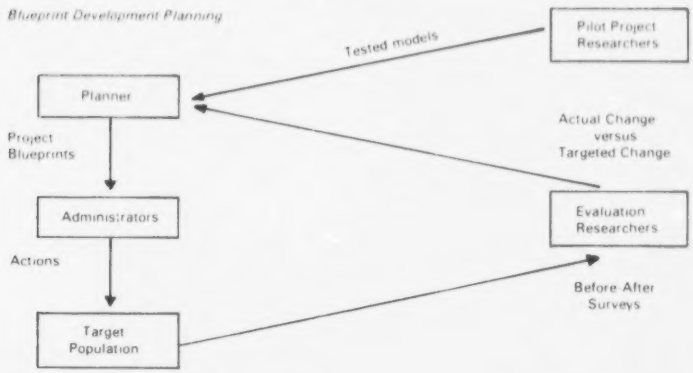
Basically those external agencies all follow the same action model, a simplified version of which can be found under Table 6 'A'.

Korten offers a more elaborate sketch of the same development planning approach which has come to be known as the 'Blue-print' approach. (Table Seven)

If one starts, as conventional development strategies do, from the premise that the organisation (the outside development agency) is a given, then this schema is indeed a rational course to follow.

The normal sequence of events is that some authority decides that a development programme should be designed and carried out and consequently instructs professionals (experts) to come up with ideas, a framework, a model.

Table Seven



Source: Korten, D. 1980

After feasibility studies and possibly a testing-out in the field under the form of a pilot project, the revised model is handed over to administrators who will direct at the target population their usual 'bag of tricks': extension, training, education, credit or any other inputs deemed necessary.

Evaluators, another set of professionals, will assess the 'before and after' situation and present their findings to the planners for possible corrections and subsequent fund-reallocations.

As Korten remarks

> "The blueprint has an appealing sense of order, specialisation, and recognition of the superordinate role of the intellectual which makes it easily defensible in budget presentations. Indeed, its emphasis on well-planned and clearly defined projects with discrete and visible outcomes is well suited to the construction of a large-scale physical infrastructure where the task is defined, the outcomes terminal, the environment stable, and the costs predictable." (Korten, 1980, p.497)

Order, precise and abundant statistics and data, precise and uniform objectives, a stable environment, predictable costs, terminal actions for which temporary organisations set up for the occasion, with sharply divided roles (and even locations) of researcher, planner and administrator are assumed to produce wholly rational results, are not precisely the conditions suited to or prevailing in a Third World rural environment. And yet this has been the dominant planning environment for those regions for as long as development planning has been attempted.

The Importance of Participation

A recent study (Garcia-Zamor 1985) on the importance of participation started from the assumption that

> "unless the people affected participate directly in the planning and management of development projects and programs, these projects won't have a lasting success" (Garcia-Zamor, 1985, p.xi)

What has indeed come through very strongly in the last decade is the question of long-term sustainability of whatever development efforts that are taken on in a region.

Even 'classical' development planners have now come around to the position of the usefulness and validity of participation, Mathur writes that,

> "In the context of a pioneering World Bank participatory programme (PIDER) in Mexico, Michael M. Cernea recently noted that 'Participation of beneficiaries was the only avenue to pursue - not just for political and ideological reasons, but primarily for more efficiency and for reasons of an economic and technical nature'." (Mathur, 1986 p.15)

The appreciation of participation as a valuable addition to the planners' toolbag has increased forcefully in recent years. The arguments in favour of it are indeed inescapable (although decades of disregard had to precede this realisation):

Many development projects will just not get off the ground if people do not come forward. If, for example, farmers do not come forward and cooperate among themselves and the project staff then an intricate project as, for example an irrigation scheme is not going to work.

Also, participation at the planning stage provides planners with information which is otherwise hard to come by. This is especially important for planning procedures of the blueprint type which rely so heavily on precision, data, statistics and order.

Locals will often see aspects of a situation which almost inevitably will be overlooked by the experts and the consequences can usually be calculated in thousands of dollars, if not total failure. (Why, if this is so, the title 'expert' should be accorded to a category of highly paid individuals who are responsible for this "debacle" through their 'in-expertise' is a pregnant question.)

Thirdly, people accept change more willingly if they are involved in programmes designed to produce change in their lifestyles.

This is now accepted as elementary common sense although, most programmes directed towards agricultural innovation continue to disregard those who are engaged, on top of their domestic work, in up to three quarters of all agricultural work and grow more than half of the world's food, women, and continue to direct extension, agricultural inputs and training at men.

Fourthly, studies by economists have proven the 'economic' benefit, i.e. cost-effectiveness of participation. The mobilisation of local labour and local resources which otherwise would have remained unused, has obvious monetary implications for centrally funded agencies.

This argument should, however, not be pushed too far: USAID funded projects in Burkina Faso in the early 80's for example would give preference to fuel-guzzling American-made transport and tractors (for which every single sparepart had to be expensively imported) to readily available French and Japanese makes. 'Local labour' usually did not go beyond local support (e.g. drivers and office workers) and field staff, whose salaries usually represent only a fraction of total project costs.

Fifth, people-involvement will often lead to timely completion of projects. This, again, is important in a 'blue-print' context, in which projects are almost by definition terminal. The fact that this 'terminality' is linked to the tendency of money and funding to 'run out', whereas people will still be there after the project's termination, and whether, by the same token, projects should not be constructed around people, rather than money, is another pregnant question.

Sixth, monitoring and supervision, extremely important for programmes often funded by outside donors who demand accountability, is easier, cheaper and more effective if it involves local people, be it for the mere fact that locals are on the spot at all times, whereas outsiders have to travel, often at considerable physical and monetary expense.

What usually comes last in the consideration of practical spin-offs of people's participation is what it does, not to the project or the project managers but, for a change, to people. People's participation, it is claimed, contributed to 'human resource development': it educates people, instills new skills and new confidence in them.

That this should be seen as a 'spin-off' and only one of last resort is, again, significant.

Participation as a 'Missing Ingredient', a Means or an End?

The above rationale for the 'inclusion' of participation where before it had hardly been even thought of, is obviously that of an additional, welcome ingredient, an 'injection' which will favourably (and this understood particularly in cost-benefit analysis terms) influence the project.

Contrary to conventional development (planning) models - both socialist and capitalist inspired - where people, if they are lucky enough to be at the right time in the right place where a development project is in operation, find their lives under continued domination by large impersonal bureaucracies, (to which the development project is often an addition!) people-centred development planning looks, as a starting point, at the creative initiative of people as the primary development resource and to their material and spiritual well-being as the end that the development process serves.

It has to be stressed that this emphasis on human potential is a clear step forward since the mid-seventies when the ILO was instrumental in helping development theorists and practitioners 'discover' human needs, with the subsequent voluminous 'Basic Needs' literature (6). Emphasis on human potential goes far beyond requiring beneficiaries to provide voluntary labour in support of centrally initiated schemes, or 'accommodating' participation for increased efficiency.

Table Eight illustrates the reasons why, participation or not, blue-print planning is in no position to give a satisfactory answer to the supreme need for people-empowering development: participation may increase the organisation's efficiency but not people's capacity for problem-solving.

The reasons then why participation is not just 'useful' in people-centred development programmes, but their very essence are the following:

- People will not commit their own resources (i.e. land, labour, energy, information, social relationships, enthusiasm, commitment) if they do not have the impression that the activity to which they are contributing is, to a considerable extent, theirs, i.e. controlled and 'owned' by them.

This sense of ownership and belonging is in turn intimately linked to the eventual sustainability (or collapse) of the development effort.

Perhaps the most important resource, information, will not be forthcoming in a consistent, integrated manner if the joint effort is not built on the basic premise that 'people too are professionals (experts)' and on some fundamental comprehension and working knowledge of cross-cultural communication.

Table Eight

Dependency Creating versus Empowering Development Programmes

	Dependency creating	Empowering
Initiated	In capital city	In village
Begin with	A formal plan	Problem solving action
Programme design process	Static – expert dominated	Evolving collaborative
Primary resource base	Central funds & central experts	Local people Local resources
Supporting organisation	Existing or built top-down	Built from bottom-up.
Social analysis	To justify plan meet evaluation req.	For problem definition
Error	Ignored or buried	Embraced
Communication	Top-down communiqués	Participatory communication.
Management focus	On time 'termination'	Sustainability.
Evaluation	External Intermittent Expert-led Cost-benefit activities-biased	Participatory continuous creative Process oriented
Capacity for problem solving	Decreased	Enhanced

Source: de Graaf, *JSDA 1986*

Taking people seriously, taking their opinions and expressed needs seriously, and accepting their choices only adds to the organisational control, as this control is essentially in function of people, not in function of (the self-perpetuation of) the organisation, and cooperation and harmony are in this case ultimately in the participants' own interest.

This is entirely different from wanting to involve people because that will make them more easily 'swallow' programmes designed 'to produce change' (who decided about what change and why was it necessary?) in their lifestyles.

- Furthermore, participation can help in solving the conflicts that will naturally exist in a situation where resources are so much scarcer than the needs. Only when people have the idea that they have considerable control over the process of 'spreading scarcity' better, horizontally and vertically, will they remain committed to it and accept delays, problems and failures.

- Most crucially, as long as a development programme only creates changes during the duration of the programme, nothing is gained, apart from a temporary relief from some hardship in fact, resistance to and capacity to cope with further or other hardships may have weakened.

The ultimate test is what happens next: participation, if it really has grown and been effective at all stages (as the sap grows with and is effective in a tree at all stages), makes the programme a local event, truly rooted in what people locally want, learn and do.

According to Oakley and Marsden

> "Participation as an end is the inexorable consequence of the process of empowering and liberation. The state of activating power and of meaningfully participating in the development process is in fact the objective of the exercise." (Oakley & Marsden 1984, p.28)

Admittedly, it will be difficult to characterise, witness, and especially measure a development process which is, to such a degree, insubstantial, unmeasurable and impossible to 'pinpoint' as it essentially occurs over (often prolonged) periods of time. As most contemporary writers on the subject admit, we do not have the tools (yet) to properly evaluate empowering development and neither is there an established, systematic body of knowledge.

Notes

1. For example in Coombs, P. "Attacking rural poverty: how non-formal education can help." John Hopkins. 1974, p.90 ss

2. Carmen, op.cit. p.215. Among the countries backing the 1980 multi-million Kwacha 'OPERATION FOOD PRODUCTION' programme (K 400 million in all) were Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, the United States 17 more countries. Under the programme, two state farms, each of about 20,000 hectares were to be established in each of Zambia's 9 provinces. They were to be managed by foreign personnel and repayment would be in periods of up to 25 years, with interests ranging from 2% to 5%. With the hindsight of a 1988 Zambia in a state of utter submission to IMF dictates, one really wonders whom those K 400 million have really benefited?

3. For a description of the rapid rise and fall of Zambia's 'Rural Reconstruction Centres', equally run on a capital/energy-intensive basis, and run by the worst type of bureaucrats, Army officers, see Carmen, op.cit. p.223. On the FAO and World Bank Plans for 'Zambia by the year 2,000' (e.g. the planned boosting of the country's income from agricultural products from K 5 million in 1974 to a projected K250 - K300 million target, and what this would imply in terms of improved standards of living for the average villager in rural Zambia (average income boosted from K150 to K245 a year), see Carmen, op.cit. p.273.

4. As an indication of the potential of Credit Union cooperatives COADY, Antigonish, Canada, Jan.78 quotes the example of Mauritius which had, in the mid-seventies 40 million in deposits mainly from small savers. For a comparison between the principles of Zambia's philosophy of Humanism and Credit Union principles, see Carmen, op.cit. Appendix C. p.312.

5. For a description of the Zambian Cooperative Experiment see Carmen, op.cit. p.158-164.

6. For example Ghai, D. Godfrey, M. & Lisk, F. "Planning for basic needs in Kenya." ILO. Geneva. 1979 and Lisk, F. "Popular participation in planning for Basic Needs" ILO. 1985.

Chapter 3

Participatory Communication: Theory and Practice

Part 1 The Theoretical Framework

Rural Social Development Communication: the Imperative of an Alternative, Participatory Knowledge and Research Paradigm.

Characteristic of the Dominant Way of Relating Theory and Practice.

From what has been said so far on the subject of communication for development it has become increasingly clear that there are basically two separate ways of understanding and applying relationships between theory and practice, or paradigms within which the concept of participation and communication can be tested.

The dominant, western paradigm, as applied to social science research and which was already referred to in Chapter 1 is that of structural functionalism.

The inadequacy of this paradigm has, over the past fifteen years been increasingly recognised and voiced: so, for example, the 'Mark II' Rogers (1) and Hermassi (1978, p.239) who, in an article on the state of sociological research in the Third World, speaks of an 'acute crisis' situation. In a similar vein Portes (1976, p.80) comes to the conclusion that the earlier modernisation theorising as a source of insight into the situation of third world nations or of significant questions for research has come to a point of 'almost complete exhaustion'.

Diffusion of innovations through extension communication, programmes of 'rural advancement' or 'rural uplift', appropriate technologies, farming systems research and behaviourial science research all share one common characteristic: they are solutions to problems and technologies researched and designed by aliens to the environment.

Appropriate technology (A.T.) (or Intermediate technology) has the merit of having exposed and criticised the mere transference of modern technology as a

way of solving development problems - as extension and diffusion of innovations does - and is therefore a huge step forward on the latter.

While it may be true that the technologies of the poor are 'too frequently too primitive, too inefficient and ineffective' and that they 'need up-grading by the input of new knowledge, new to them, but not altogether new to everybody' (2), Schumacher, because he never tackled or answered the question as to how the needs and technology priorities of the poor are to be identified, and by whom, stands in the mainstream of the Western tradition which upholds the assumption that technicians from the West have, eventually, the key to the solution of development problems.

Progress has been made since Schumacher: J. Galvez Tan, for example, talks of 'participatory technology development' (P.T.D.), an approach which is based on the thesis that

> "each technology and its development has to undergo a process of evolution through the active participation and experimentation of the people who would use it." (Galvez 1985, p.12)

However, A.T., just as F.S.R.* which equally identified formerly neglected areas and prescribes possible improvements, are all at sea when it comes to the question as to who is going to choose what priorities. It is a sure guess that considerations of productivity will, typically in western style, take precedence over, for example, in the Third World equally or more important cultural or social considerations.

As Fresco (1984, p.253) points out this bias is usually compounded by the dominant role of the researcher (scientist) in on-farm investigation and formulation of recommendations: F.S.R. (3) for all its insights and goodwill remains basically prescriptive in nature and predominantly technicist in its overtones.

Opting for an alternative tool of analysis comes under the heading of 'reversals for rural development'. 'Reversals', the need for them, their feasibility and their implications are the main theme of Chambers' 1983 book. (4)

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* F.S.R. (Farming Systems Research): a relatively new-fangled, integrated approach to the agricultural problematique of rural development. Since the 70's attempts have been made to tackle these problems of on-farm behaviour (environmental, social, political, cultural, anthropological and economic) in a holistic manner.

Empowerment implies the fundamental reversal of 'putting the last first' if the vicious circle of 'integrated rural poverty' (5) and the monopolistic powers of Prince and Merchant (6) are to be opposed, and the 'counterattack' in the social, physical, economic and political arenas (7) has to be brought to a successful conclusion.

Participation implies the fundamental reversal of a new professionalism where 'those who are explorers and multidisciplinarians [who] ask again and again, will benefit and who will lose from their choices and actions (Chambers 1983, Preface) a far cry from the self-assured 'blueprint planning' mentality characteristic of the rational, scientific knowledge paradigm (Table 7).

The central issue indeed is that 'the poor must be empowered not only to fight back, but to regain the ownership and control of the resources that were originally theirs.' (cfr. p. 59). In practice this can only mean one thing: that in all fields the centre of gravity should shift from the top to the bottom.

Knowledge and research

Ancient wisdom has it that collective knowledge is more reliable than solitary, isolated (in a laboratory) let alone culturally myopic or people-hostile knowledge. This is reflected, for example, in the Bemba (N. Zambia) proverb: "Amano ya buweka: tayapela patali", meaning 'knowledge in isolation does not reach very far'. (Buweka contains the stem -eka, meaning 'alone', 'lonely').

Fuglesang, as we have seen, thinking along the same lines, concludes that 'one head cannot hold all the wisdom and our efforts to communicate often fail to find the bridges': hence the importance of cross-cultural communication, and the suggestion that true ignorance may be rather on the side of the 'monocular' observer/researcher/evaluator than on that of those who are being branded as being ignorant for the mere fact that they belong to a different, but nevertheless equally valid culture.

'Engaged', 'collective, shared knowledge should therefore have as many, if not more claims to objectivity.

Creating Knowledge through Dialogue

The central characteristic of the participatory knowledge paradigm and which makes it at the same time so relevant to the analysis of participatory communication processes is the rejection of the premise of the (professional) monopoly of knowledge* and the corresponding assumption that (all) human beings have the innate ability to create knowledge through dialogue. Through participation comes what Kronenburg calls 'knowledge empowerment'.

> "With the newly acquired power of knowledge, which has not been given or taken away from somewhere but has been autogenerated, the participants can influence the course of events to liberate themselves from oppressive situations and determine their own destiny." (Kronenburg 1986, p.256)

For the professional researcher it is therefore crucial to decide, first of all 'which side s/he is on' (Hall 1982), as siding with the poor is not simply a position which automatically follows from applying participatory research methods.

As Hall points out, such methods may be a very efficiently used, by a slum landlord for example, all the better to exploit his clientele. (Hall, 1982)

Hall (1978) describes how he personally became aware of the need of a common commitment when working in the field of Adult Education, with a heavy emphasis on mass-programmes in Tanzania, in an article entitled, precisely, 'Which side are you on?'

In the case of Tanzania, it was, characteristically, a visit by Paulo Freire in 1971 which acted as a stimulus to many (social) scientists who otherwise might have been less impressed with what actually had been happening all the time in the field. (University of Dar 1973)

It is indeed, again, Freire's ideology and methodology learned in the field (in Brazil and later in Chile) and the Latin American experience (8) which are the forerunners and beacons of the ongoing debate on participatory research and communication.

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* The rhyme,

'Here I stand, my name is Jowett,
There's no knowledge but I know it.
I am Master of this college.
And what I don't know isn't knowledge'

is attributed to Professor Jowett of Baliol College, Oxford.

It was in fact Freire, in the early 1970's, who set the whole debate on participatory research in motion when he was suggesting to a group of Adult Education professionals in Dar Es Salaam that in their efforts to educate Tanzanians for development they better get away from the myth that 'technology is neutral and that technical education is neutral'. They had better heed Nyerers's axiom that 'just as I cannot develop a man, a woman, a person, unless he or she develops, I can also not develop a nation without people'.

> "If the object is very clear, as here in Tanzania, if people here are interested in creating a socialist society, then research requires different methods and concepts of knowledge and different organisation. People have to participate in the research, as investigators and researchers and not as mere objects." (emphasis added) (Freire in: Reuke 1984, p.136)

Javier Paredes defines participatory research as a 'group learning process' and/or a 'process of collective consciousness-raising.' (1987, p.9) It combines, as an integral activity, social investigation, educational work and action.

Investigation - Education - Praxis.

Unlike traditional research, where theory tends to be separated from practice, where the prevailing social system and the status-quo are not questioned, where social facts are viewed as 'things in themselves', without space-time dimension or historical past (which made them what they are), knowledge creation is inseparable from practice and changes continuously with concrete historical conditions. It can be said that, in a sense, it shapes history, instead of allowing itself to be shaped by it.

Here again, Paulo Freire's original line of thought is still the most clarifying: elaborating on the above idea that in participatory research the researcher is at the same time educating and being educated, he says:

> "By returning [in a subsequent phase] to the area in order to put into practice the results of my investigation, I am not only educating and being educated: I am also researching again, because to the extent that we put into practice the plans resulting from such investigations, we change the levels of consciousness of the people, and by this change, research again. Thus, there is a dynamic movement between researching and acting on the results of the research." (Freire in Reuke & Welzel 1984, p.134)

Conscientization, as we have seen, is much more than an increase in social awareness, it is geared essentially to the radical transformation of society, to praxis.

Action without reflection is mindless (and often disastrous) activism: conversely, investigation and reflection in the absence of collective action is escapist idealism or mere wishful thinking.

Reginald Connolly rightly observes that

> "in highlighting the political nature of education, and the praxis this necessarily involves, Freire provides a framework for the humanisation of all". (Connolly in Mackie, 1982, p.81)

We can therefore retain the definition of participatory research as 'an approach in social research by which the full participation of the community is sought in analysing its own reality for the purpose of promoting social transformation for the benefit of the participants in the research. These participants are the oppressed, the marginated, the exploited. The activity is therefore one of education, research and social action'. Or, in short, participatory research is social praxis. (Gianotten & de Wit 1982)

Communication and Education: Reconciling the Two.

All through these pages we have frequently referred to both communication and education, not in isolation or juxtaposition, but in close relationship so much so that the reader cannot get away from the impression that both terms are almost synonymous. This fusion of terms is not caused by or intended to cause a confusion of the mind.

The fact that the two are, indeed, interrelated is clear from the dialogue - anti-dialogue diagramme borrowed from 'Education for critical consciousness' (Ch.I.p.11). In the anti-dialogical, mistrustful, a-critical, 'banking' matrix, there is absence of true communication, which is replaced by 'communiques' and, consequently absence of true education.

The transmission - persuasion - extension model is concordant with this vertical, anti-dialogical, anti-educational matrix. Freire's exposé on 'Extension or Communication' (Ch.I.p.13) brings this point home very forcibly.

The estrangement between the fields of communication and education, as we know, is artificial and the origin of the separation can be traced back to the historical moments when they started specialising in particular fields: communication developed out of rhetoric, journalism, advertising and electoral campaigns whereas education remained rooted in its rather urbane concerns centred around organised religion, philosophy and apprenticeship.

Consequently, when education and communication ideologies were transferred to a Third World context they operated mainly in isolation and independently,

if not in opposition to each other: rural communicators knew or cared little for the educational aspects of their work. The change agent's task limited itself to 'pass on' modernisation messages to the peasants and the agent's means to do this were manipulation of the message and persuasion of the receiver: is that indeed not the highly effective way Coca Cola or Sunlight soap is 'sold' to the public? Who needs 'education' if the true objective is sales turnover and/or growth?

Similarly educators were hardly aware nor were they worried about the communications aspects of their teaching. Is communication not synonymous with audio-visual aids (and little else) in the classroom?

Who needs communication if education is about 'working through' a pre-set curriculum aimed at 'depositing' a well-defined body of knowledge into a mainly passive audience?

Neither did the conventional literature or training make any concerted effort to bridge the gap: education is seldom mentioned in the relevant literature (9) and when communication was mentioned, in teacher training for example, it, again, typically would refer to (new) technology(ies).

From what has been said so far, it should be clear that the technocrats, bureaucrats and educational banking depositors are in the process of losing their prominent position in the driving seat. Communication(s) is not a narrowly economistic, pragmatic, and politically neutral enterprise, but a potential educational - meaning transforming - activity in which the people (citizens or 'wananchi') and not the technocrats are the protagonists.

Communication and education converge in 'utopia', or the vision of a new and better society.

Horizontal Participatory or Dialogical Communication: Towards a Definition.

One major work on rural development communication, McAnanany's "Communications in the Rural Third World" (1980) concentrates on 'the role of information and the media in communicating with the poor'.

So much is clear from McAnany's definition of rural development communication as 'the study of how to apply various kinds of communication technology and techniques to the solution of different social problems in developing countries.' (McAnany 1980, p.xii)

The various chapters of the book typically deal with the role of the mass media in the extension services (worldwide), or of rural television (ETV in Ivory Coast). The general perspective appears to be economical-technical and how, in the last

resort, communication and education can boost the cost-effectiveness of rural development projects. (e.g.: chapter 6: economic analysis of information/education projects, by Ashby, Klees, Pachico and Wells in McAnany 1980)

Our interest is patently not the direction of economic or technological indicators but rather in the direction of the role of communication in social change, 'social' in this instance in its interpretation of 'central focus on people, rather than on economics' - at the same time averse to economism and solidly founded on an economic base.

The real question we are asking is: what role does communication play in the liberation of human beings and communities from being passive recipients and in the long journey towards a developed, active citizenry capable of participating in choices about community issues?

Or, even more specifically and in the perspective of rural social development: what role has communication to play in the empowerment process, the struggle of the citizens, the poor, 'to regain the ownership and control of the resources which were originally theirs'?

The now ten year old work by Díaz Bordenave on 'Communication and Rural Development' still provides the clearest outline of the parameters of participatory communication in a R.D. context:

- Messages are originated among the rural populations and government agents, technocrats and élites - who previously always acted as sources - are learning to become receivers.

- The content of the messages is more relevant to rural people's problems and needs.

- Rural people are learning to formulate and articulate their ideas and feelings about matters important to them.

- The government is learning to communicate less paternalistically and with less authoritarianism, making possible a dialogue with rural populations.

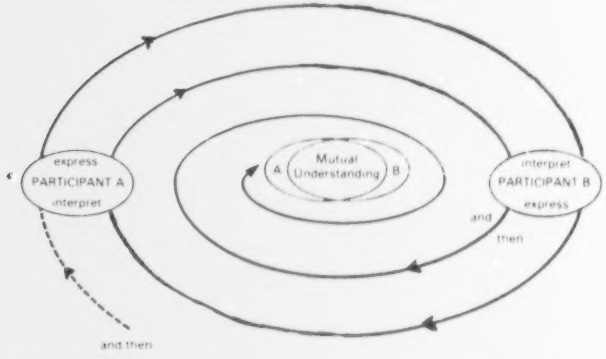
- New technologies - such as audio and video tape recording - are making it possible to register messages and feedback from all parties in the dialogues, facilitating mutual perception and understanding.

- Media are becoming more accessible to the participation of rural populations in programming. (Díaz Bordenave 1977)

In order to come to some kind of visual interpretation of the complexity and implications of participatory communication, Rogers & Kincaid's convergence model information exchange cycles (Table 9) can be usefully complemented with the Reflection/Action loop or cycle (Table 10).

Table Nine

The Rogers & Kincaid
Convergence Model of Communication



Source: Rogers, E. & Kincaid, D. L. 1981

Whereas Rogers & Kincaid's convergence model takes the individual/dyad* as the main unit of analysis and remains the interpretative/intellectual/emotional level - its major merit being, all the same, its insistence on the primacy of sharing - the Reflection/Action loop or cycle, taken from Hope & Timmel, comes much closer to visually representing Freire's concept of dialogue, which ideally takes place within a group, between educator and educatees, or between the 'organic intellectual'** and those being researched.

In the same way as the individual acts of communicative convergence remain isolated and devoid of meaning if they are not incorporated in a reflection-action cycle, this cycle, in turn, will remain unintelligible, aimless and/or thoughtless in the absence of a unifying vision.

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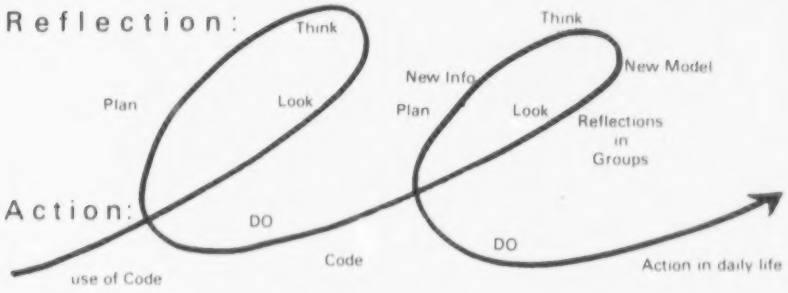
* Dyad: Unit of analysis in communication research (alongside other units: individual, personal network, clique, Network). The dyad is composed of 2 individuals connected by a communication link.

** Organic Intellectual: a concept of Gramscian origin (e.g. Gramsci, A. "La formacion de los intellectuales" Bogota 1976). The Organic Intellectual can be either isolated individual members of the powerless groups whose conscience and expertise have been raised through active struggle, or intellectuals coming from outside the community who, as committed participants and learners, are organically integrated in the process that leads to militancy rather than to detachment.

Table Ten

Reflection/Action Cycle or Loop



Source: Hope, A. & Timmel, S. 1984

In order to situate participatory communication for rural social development in its complete, overall context it is necessary to view it as an integral part of a movement towards a transcendent goal.

It is the presence (or absence) of a unifying goal or vision which, according to Escotet fundamentally differentiates what he calls 'realistic' from 'visionary' or 'utopian' planning.

> "The Utopia/reality dilemma is the epistemological representation of the divide between the desirable and the possible, between a world which does not exist and a temporarily established order, between planning the future and planning the present." (Escotet 1986, p.425)

The realistic-rational perspective remains for ever imprisoned in the realm of the possible, i.e. the possibilities open within the present structures and is therefore irrevocably wedded to the status-quo. Escotet therefore calls the rational/realistic level anti-climatic.

In the utopian teleological perspective the realm of the possibilities in favour of the desirable. This desirable goal is somewhere between the explored (or foreseeable) future and the unexplored future. The closer we get to that goal, the clearer it becomes that new guidelines are necessary, i.e. utopian planning is forever building up towards a climax, it is said to be climatic.

This utopian goal which, by its nature, will never be totally achieved is, in short, the humanisation of man. (Man, as always in this work, in its generic* connotation).

It is within this framework of a creative, humanising and transforming vision that otherwise isolated instances of shared knowledge or a series of otherwise aimless reflection - action cycles have to be understood.

These ever recurring cycles should not be understood along the lines of the classic (Greco-Roman) 'cyclical' development model which conceptualises the direction of history as 'never-ending cycles of growth and decay of all material things, including nations and civilisations'. (Fägerlind 1983, p.26)

The endless succession of cycles is not a pointless going around in circles, but should rather be envisioned as being part of an ever upward-moving spiral, thereby rejoining Gunnar Myrdal's description of development as 'the movement upward if the entire social system'. (Myrdal-Stockholm, n.d.)

For lack of better, but also partly due to lack of knowledge of better, the blueprint model has been applied matter-of-factly, as was already pointed out in Chapter 2, to an environment which is characterised, not by its order, precision, quantification, external control and step-by-step sequences of events, but, on the contrary, by open-endedness, pressure (even chaos), unpredictability and messiness characteristic of living organisms, and even more so if those living organisms have their own free will, inspiration and set of values i.e. the environment in which R.S.D. processes normally take place.

This is, in fact, also E. Dunn's thesis in an article where he differentiates the experiential processes of social learning from those of the physical sciences

> "Because the process has not been understood and consciously applied, social change has frequently been dominated by an attempt to implement change by processes incompatible with the reality of social evolution. Acting on the basis of inadequate paradigms and metaphors, we have been inclined to practice a form of social engineering. It is presupposed

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* English, unlike many other languages, does unfortunately not differentiate between 'human being' (generic) and 'the male specimen'. The word 'man' has to render both, quite different concepts. By way of comparison: the German vocabulary offers the words 'Mensch' and 'Mann'. Similarly, most central African languages distinguish between 'Muntu' (human being) and 'mwaume' (male). The French 'homme' is, unfortunately, as restrictive as the English blanket-term 'man'.

> that the change agents can act as though they are external to the process and have the knowledge and power to design a terminal state that will bring about consistent goals and controls in a deterministic fashion. Also acting on the basis of an inadequate paradigm of the social process, an attempt to freeze the social status-quo - to create and maintain static social system boundaries - is frequently evident. Both of these impractical modes are clearly impossible, but an attempt to impose them on social change has a tendency to exacerbate the traumatic and unpredictable consequences of the process." (Dunn in Korten and Klauss 1984, p.171)

Recapitulation:

On the basis of what has been said so far some tentative conclusions may be drawn as regards the nature of participatory communication and its function in the R.S.D process.

First and foremost among P.C. indicators is horizontality (Dialogue - Dialogical Communication); Messages are not delivered to people: they themselves generate the messages and exchange and discuss them among themselves.

Education: the 'raw', unexpressed knowledge of ordinary people is brought to the surface and into the open: this knowledge is fed to them in a challenging form, so that the educator is at the same time educating and being educated with the people.

Investigation-education-praxis:

The indigenously produced knowledge (with or without the cooperation of 'organic intellectuals') 'moves on like a continuous spiral in which [we would] go from the simplest to the most complex tasks, from the known to the unknown, all in permanent contact with the bases'. (Fals Borda 1980, p.27)

In this way, the educator is not only educating and being educated: to the extent that plans resulting from investigations are put into practice 'we change the level of consciousness of the people, and by this change, research again. Thus there is a dynamic movement between researching and acting on the results of the research." (Freire in: Reuke, p.134)

The Learning Organisation:

Organisations are not 'blueprinted', imposed, 'given' variables, but organically 'fitting' the needs of particular people (beneficiaries) and programmes.

An organisation cannot organise people's development for them, neither can the planner plan people's development for them: they can only be helped to learn, to develop, to organise, to plan for themselves.

In the learning organisation error is not welcomed, but the organisation acknowledges the limitations of its competence: any additional information, from whatever quarter, is welcome and used for more effective and efficient action.

It is accepted that the source of information may even be error itself, in the same way as a human being does not only learn to walk by walking, but also learns lessons from falling.

No-one is completely ignorant either, and, as Fuglesang says, ignorance is a myth: it is therefore wholly conceivable that 'the peasant, too, is a professional' (Chambers): everyone involved is a planner and organiser and 'headquarters' has no monopoly of knowledge and competence.

Participation as an End:

Participation as an end is the inexorable consequence of the process of empowering and liberation: the state of achieving power and of meaningfully participating in the development process is the very objective of the exercise.

Unifying Vision : people-centred participatory development/rural social development.

The RSD 'ideal' has still been best expressed and summarised by Haque (1977):

- Man (generic meaning)* as the end of development.

- De-alienation of man: a development in which man becomes both subject and object.

- The richest expression of man's humanity can be found in the development of collective personality.

- Participation as the true form of bureaucracy.

- Self-reliance as the expression of man's faith in his own abilities.

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* Re: Note p.79

Part 2 Case-Studies

The Kenyan D.E.P. Programme (1974-1983)

Inception.

Key figures in and the real inspiration behind DEP are two women, Anne Hope (Irish) and Sally Timmel (American) who, in 1973, visited Kenya in search of ways to live out their life convictions and employ their educational skills.

Both were members of the International Grail, a women movement founded in the Netherlands in 1921. Its members aim at making a contribution to changes in the world for the betterment of people's living conditions with particular reference to improving the position of women.

Hope (a catholic) and Timmel (a Lutheran) had worked as professional adult educators in Southern Africa for several years. They came to Kenya under the auspices of AMECEA, the East African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

At first sight such foreign input and inspiration may not have augured well for a project so centred around people empowerment and self-reliance. However, as Kronenburg explains,

> "DEP was the realization two expatriate women had about how to approach community development. The initial support and patronage within the Catholic Church, where the programme rooted, was also provided by expatriates. However, soon after the inception of the adult education programme, Kenyans became deeply involved in building it into a movement with an African outlook." (Kronenburg 1986, p.151)

The original AMECEA job-description was rather narrow: pilot project for the training of unemployed secondary school leavers in methods of adult literacy, funded by Misereor, a project which never got off the ground, however.

The Kenyan Catholic Secretariat then suggested their names in connection with a more wide-ranging adult education programme, also to be funded by Misereor. The KEC thereupon 'refused to sanction the employment of the two Grail women, but were willing to sponsor the programme if the funds were still available.' (Crowley 1985, p.10)

The ecclesiastical decision-makers clearly wanted the funds but not the people most qualified to inspire and run it. One bishop would remark ruefully at a later stage: 'I like their success, but not their ideas' (ibid).

Those 'ideas' gleaned from, among others, Paulo Freire and the Latin American liberation theologians were perceived to be dangerous, if not subversive.

For almost ten years, thanks to the sponsorship of one committed bishop - Colin Davies, the bishop of Ngong - who had agreed to employ Hope and Timmel - DEP was offered the possibility to press on regardless.

During all those years DEP enjoyed all the advantages of the sponsorship of a powerful organisation - the Catholic Church, which included automatic registration and recognition by the government - and hardly any of the disadvantages. In 1983, after the political situation in the country had drastically changed, the KEC (Kenya Episcopal Conference) would 'extort from DEP members the promise that they would compromise their vision as a price for accommodation' (Kronenburg op.cit., p.157).

- *DEP Methodology. (Psycho-Social Method - P.S.M.)*

The principal means deployed by DEP to achieve the intended transformation was conscientisation.

The educational methodology to realise and sustain this was PSM, an elaboration on the principles set out in Paulo Freire's 'Pedagogy of the oppressed' and based on five key principles:

1. People themselves can bring about transformation. Essential is that they break through the myths which lock them in their own fate. Passivity and fatalism can be overcome by uncovering reality. This happens in groups, through sharing, participation, communication and progressive articulation of the experience of members. In groups, through sharing and participatory communication they learn to 'read reality'.

2. The subject of development and the themes of education should come from the people themselves. 'Generative themes' provoke the interest and energy needed to bring about the required change.

3. Solutions to community problems should be found through dialogue. Dialogue can only take place if people respect each other's knowledge from experience and are prepared to learn from each other.

It is from the collective knowledge that 'own' solutions can be found which will allow people to own their development and 'write their own history'.

4. Education must be problem-posing in order to promote creativity and search for 'own' solutions.

Instead of objects (targets) people become subjects of their own development, actors instead of mere re-actors.

5. Development is an on-going educational process. Through critical reflection on previous action, people learn from mistakes, obstacles and successes. Through this creative, alternative research method people, in Freire's words, 'learn to do it by doing it'.

These five principles embodied for DEP the very essence of conscientisation.

DEP and DELTA. (Development Education and Leadership Teams in Action.)

Kronenburg recounts that by 1975 the demand for facilitation of workshops (for the training of trainers) had grown to such an extent that the original Grail team could not cope any more.

In response to the introductory workshops conducted the previous year, a request had come from dioceses in Kenya to train facilitators who, in turn, could train group leaders. Thus a programme was born which was later to develop as the most typical and representative of the DEP: the DELTA training programme.

By 1982 four hundred community leaders had participated in In-Service Training programmes and in 1982 over 50,000 were participating all over the country in over 2,000 groups initiated by those leaders.

These included literacy classes, women's and youth groups, community health groups, agricultural programmes, group ranches for nomadic people, parish groups for integrated development, training programmes for catechists (teachers of religion) and Basic Christian Communities for Action and Reflection.

As an offshoot, training programmes using this method have also been run in Zimbabwe (where Hope & Timmel's training books were printed), Nigeria, and Gujarat (India). Two international courses have also been run with teams from over 20 other countries.

As indicated, the 'powerhouse' of DEP was the DELTA training of trainers programme. Kronenburg calls it the programme which 'best reflected the philosophy of DEP'.

It was in these workshops, called 'phases', organised over usually one year periods, with regular three-month intervals (which allowed for plenty of time to practice the skills learned during training) that the principles of participatory communication were most intensely analysed and practised.

The DELTA training programme, of which Hope & Timmel's book is a synthesis, integrates insights from five major sources:

- Paulo Freire's work on critical consciousness.

- Human Relations training for group work: trust building and communication.

- Organisational development for Community action.

- Social analysis, and

- the concept of transformation: development redefined.

The Practice of Communication within DEP

Early in the workshop it was found useful to conduct a session to promote good communication and listening in a group. To open up a discussion on this topic a listening exercise would be presented in the form of a code. One such code was called 'message'. The object of the whole exercise was to come to a consensus as to what the group could do to prevent poor communication from happening.

To help the more 'quiet' participants there was plenty of scope to discuss in small groups of three. The points from the small groups were reported to plenary and listed on news-print.

In other workshops the same subject of communication and listening would be brought up with different codes such as plays: one particularly enlightening play appears to have been one called 'Monologue or Dialogue'. (Described in Hope & Timmel Book II p.25 ss.)

What is significant also is that during the workshop the facilitators used the same general outline as for the listening exercise code described supra for practically all the workshop issues.

> "Designing learning events included not only the creation of codes but also the use of simulation games and development of tasks to stimulate experiential learning. [...] Sensitivity to the reactions of the participants and comments during meals and breaks, were and important source of signals for adaptation of the day to day programme." (Kronenburg 1986, p.87)

Kronenburg indicates very clearly how development communication in a traditional project and in DEP fundamentally differs as regards setting, direction of ideas and initiatives, dispersal of information and communication channels. (ibid)

- Setting: communication in DEP was normally during workshops in large halls which could accommodate 40-50 participants seated in a closed circle without tables. Speakers would stay seated. Also at grassroots level this pattern of communication would be followed.

Conventional development communication, on the other hand, will prefer formal meetings presided over by a chairman conducted in a classroom formation with everyone facing the chairman (as people are used to do in class with the teacher) who typically would stand to speak, of sit in a prominent position in front and/or above 'the rest'.

- *Direction of Ideas, Initiatives and Information:*

The educational programmes of DEP were fashioned around the needs of its participants. DEP workers, after consultation, took initiatives to organise the workshops to provide a structure for learning. The learning process was aimed at stimulating groups to generate their own ideas and initiatives to generate their own projects. This process requires the absence of preconceived ideas and strategies. This also applies to the source of information: information does not necessarily all come from the groups themselves, but 'refers to the notion that the required information is what people need to know'. When it comes to supplying information, DEP would feel quite at home with the Gramscian notion of 'organic intellectual' (p.77, n.) as corroborated by this quote from Kronenburg

> "The need for such information can either be articulated by the people themselves or it becomes evident that they need it to remove obstacles to progress of their activities. DEP experienced such a need for professional advice during its major evaluation (ME). After due discussion the role of the consultants was precisely defined. The consultants for the ME were invited on the strength of their familiarity with DEP and on DEP's terms." (emphasis added) (Kronenburg 1986, p.19)

By contrast, mainstream development communication communicates downwards ideas and initiatives conceived (cooked up) by the project management or its consultants.

Relevance of information for others is judged by the management's and outside experts' own criteria: we are here fully in the environment of the top-down (hand-me-down) diffusion of innovations by persuasion, not essentially different from the marketing-style of the 'sales-pitch' for a new consumer product.

- *Dispersal of Information:*

In DEP it was considered a high priority to provide as much information as possible to all persons involved in a particular development endeavour, and this included, quite significantly, information about finances and about all relationships of the members relevant to their team or group.

Contrasted to this can again be the rule prevailing in most conventional development projects 'that not everybody should know everything', especially on the subject of finance and the project's relationship with its donors.

DEP consciously opted for the school of thought representative of the organic model view of organisational interventions known under the name of O.D. (Organisational Development) (French & Bell 1973) which in the 60's emerged as a new approach to improve organisational effectiveness. The essence of OD lies in the promotion of organisational structures and practices which enable the creative potential, latent commitment to organisational goals and the energetic abilities to flourish.

Those OD principles found an echo in the work of Jedlicka (1977) who considers the OD approach as the most suited to organisations operating in the continuously changing and infra-structure-poor Third World context.

The diffused authority structure, open communication system, multi-team membership, shared leadership and consensus in decision-making all make OD into an environment eminently suited to allow participation, fully in line with rural social development principles (re: Chapter 2 p.82) to become not merely a means towards an ulterior end, but an end in itself.

> "Freed from concentrated power and based on shared responsibility and control, development organisations are in a position to enable the poor to design their own destiny without bureaucratic interferences. This requires a positive attitude towards the organizational capabilities of the poor. Opportunities need to be created to develop mutual trust and confidence between the organisation and its clients." (Kronenburg 1986, p.246)

- *Channels of Communication:*

Communication in top-down management projects is naturally channelled through the project management which is not beyond 'selectively adapting' messages to the receiver for the sake of reaching its information objectives.

Most of the drawbacks of misinterpretation resulting from communicating through intermediaries was, in DEP, softened or counterbalanced by dialogue in open forums in the presence of those concerned with the issue.

Impact of DEP.

After the DELTA training, volunteer development workers usually expressed two major concerns with respect to the maintenance of their effectiveness: need for 'in-depth' follow-up and ongoing formation, and also for 'in-length' follow-

up, meaning the strengthening of organisational structures to carry DEP activities.

As for in-depth follow-up, the DEP experience motivated several DEP participants to take up advanced or post-graduate studies.

Because such people have been at the coal-face of participatory development they are in an eminent position to profoundly shake up received ideas and theories and possibly challenge entrenched academic positions, which may be a traumatic experience for those who saw themselves as the unchallenged experts, but will ultimately be for the better and the advancement of those respective disciplines.

Within DEP itself, the principal thrust of the on-going education effort focused on the further development of analytical tools to enable groups to achieve a better understanding of their social environment.

Kronenburg relates that, by the end of 1981, 2,400 participants had been trained in phased programmes. Continuously active groups operating in roughly half the Kenyan territory numbered 1,600 with a total of 45,000 members served by 58 full-time employed DEP workers. Groups were involved in a wide range of projects from water schemes to cooperative marketing of produce, from running literacy classes to small income producing activities.

The true impact can be gauged by an example from Machakos Diocese which had been involved, on an incidental basis, with 1,306 groups with a total membership of 115,316. As Machakos is just one of the total of seven participating dioceses one gets an impressive picture of DEP ramifications and impact. What is equally important, and again proves both efficiency and effectiveness of participatory programmes, is that

> "the expanding programme activities did not necessarily increase the demand for active support from the coordinators, due to the enabling character of DEP. This confirms the statement of the Adult Education Programme coordinator of Lodwar Diocese that empowerment reaps power." (emphasis added) (Kronenburg 1986, p.110)

It is becoming increasingly clear that the greatest strength of DEP was not its material or organisational assets, nor even its very survival in one particular appearance which happened in this case to be DEP as it materialised in Kenya

between 1974-1983. Its real strength is its inspiration, its vision, its 'spirit' which can take on a multitude of different 'incarnations', be it DEP or otherwise.

One example is the CBHC project (Community Based Health Care Project) which started in 1984 in Turkana (Kenya).*

Indigenous NGO's: 'Les Groupements Naam' (West Africa) and the ORAP (Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress) (Zimbabwe).

'NGO', or non-government organisation is a rather unfortunate term in that it has an essentially negative connotation, i.e. not initiated by the government. It gives the distorted impression that governments are the centre of activity in society and that 'people' are merely its periphery, that they therefore have to be somehow apologetic for taking any initiative at all.

Like the term 'social development', NGO has over the years come to mean something quite deeper and different from its original terms of reference. Just like 'social development' (ch.2), the term NGO is in the process of being demarginalised (away from being identified with the periphery) and reconceptualised, i.e. towards a new content and meaning, even while the old term continues to be used.

Forceful promoters of this new content and meaning are the IFDA group, which also was instrumental in (re)circulating the 'Third System' idea, i.e. the movement among those people who are reaching critical consciousness of the role they might play and who perceive that the 'essence of history is the endless effort for the emancipation by which people grope towards the mastery of their own destiny'.

The name IFDA would prefer as replacement for 'NGO' is C.O. (Citizen Organisation) or O.R.P. (Organisation of the Rural Poor): they form part of the 'Third Forum' which is emerging after a quarter century of dominance of the two main 'Fora' in the field of development assistance:

i. The (first) multi-lateral forum: the UN family of agencies (e.g. UNDP), the French 'Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique', and various Commonwealth Agencies. Various Nordic cooperation efforts are grouped in this category.

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* An analysis of this project can be found in Carmen 1988. (Vol.2)

ii. The (second) bi-lateral forum which encompasses nation-to-nation funds which, in fact, represent the largest proportion of official development assistance.

iii. The third forum represents the multitude of non-governmental coalitions, small groups, networks and development NGO's at all levels and of an infinite variety all over the world.* (Convergence 1986:4)

NGO's in recent years have become increasingly aware of their potential to command national attention and international funding. They also are the most obvious bodies with the potential to 'exert leadership in addressing institutional processes supportive of democratisation': international organisations are completely absorbed in macro-policy and attendant funding, and what is required here is far more than a simple rearrangement of funding priorities.

> "Responding to this challenge will place many NGO's in un-accustomed roles that demand new kinds of competence. The following distinction between three generations of private voluntary development action helps to place the issues in context and illuminate their implications." (Korten 1987, p.147)

The 'three generations' of NGO effort, all co-existing, but of which only the third has the necessary credentials for taking up the challenge of democratisation, are the following:

Generation 1: Relief and Welfare.

Many of the larger international NGO's such as Catholic Relief Services, CARE, Save the Children and World Vision began as charitable relief organisations geared essentially to disaster relief and the delivery of welfare services.

As these organisations brought their expertise to bear on non-disaster situations, they gave birth to a first generation of private voluntary organisations.

As a development strategy they are largely confined to temporary alleviation of symptoms.

Generation 2: Small-Scale Self-Reliant Local Development.

Especially in the late seventies, realising the limitations of the relief and welfare approach, NGO's became increasingly involved in community development-style projects involving preventive health, improved farming practices, local infrastructure, credit unions and similar activities.

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* The UN Economic and Social Commission has over 20,000 NGO's on its lists.

Generation 3: Sustainable Systems Development:

A growing number of NGO's are coming to realise they need to exert greater leadership in addressing dysfunctional aspects of the policy and institutional setting of the villages and sectors within which they work.

> "This means moving to a third generation strategy in which the focus is on facilitating sustainable changes in these settings on a regional or even national basis." (Korten 1987, p.149)

Indigenous NGO's:

While there has been a distinct move in the orientation of outside non-governmental organisations towards institutional, self-sustaining processes of democratisation there has been at the same time, indigenously, an increasing awareness of and organisation for

> "empowering ordinary people, often at the edges of society, to make an effective contribution to national development. Otherwise, villagers all over the world are condemned to remain recipients of ideas and services designed for them from a central position that is permanently remote from them ... Development must be one of the people and by the people themselves." (Nyoni 1987, p.51)

The principle upon which indigenous NGO's are based is the undeniable fact that, in Nyoni's words, 'the poor in our countries are the nation'.

> "A nation can only become liberated or developed when its poor people become aware of the forces which oppress or underdevelop them and mobilize to deal with those forces themselves. The few educated elites have failed to bring about these changes alone." (Nyoni 1987, p.55)

Nyoni calls for a coming together, a true 'partnership in development' between outside and indigenous NGO's. To achieve this, international NGO's have to lose their habit of contacting only the centres which claim to represent those they try to help and start seeking direct contact with the poor, wherever they are.

> "As long as we continue to talk of 'us and them', we shall remain strangers to each other." (Nyoni 1987, p.55)

Les Groupements Naam

Bernard Ledea Ouédraogo* who in the seventies, together with Jean Gabriel Seni, a burkinabe peasant, and the Senegalese pioneers Abdoulaye Diop and Demba Mansare initiated the first Naam groups describes the 'Six S's' Association (Se Servir de la Saison Sèche en Savane et au Sahel - liberally translated as 'To make use of the dry season in the Sahel and the Savana), the organisation which most fully incarnates and supports the Naam philosophy.

The basic Naam philosophy 'development without destruction' (developper sans abimer) is inspired by the environment and its methodology by the aspirations of its beneficiaries i.e. subsistence farmers.

- *From Traditional Naam to Groupement Naam***

Chief functions and titles in the Naam are: Kombi-Naam (chief of the youth) who at the same time carries paramount responsibility for the Naam. The Togo-Naba, or the Kombi-Naba's spokesman. The Sore Naba, the chief of the road, i.e. in charge of everything concerning travel or visits to ceremonies or work. The Tilb-Naba (Tilb - allow, here: forgive, pardon): he is the supreme advocate of the defence. The Bassi-Naba (Basse: abandon, exile) the Tilb-Naba's antipode, the Limbe-Naba (limbe: taste): the chief taster - to discover e.g. whether or not the food has been poisoned etc. The Nabisi-girls have functions which correspond to those of the boys. 'Mr' Naaba and 'Mrs' Naaba can get 'married' when he becomes Naamsida and she Naampanga. Sexual

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* The delegates to the general assembly of the International network of IRED (Innovations et Reseaux pour le Developpment-Development Innovations & Networks) elected Bernard as their new president in Rio de Janeiro, 27.08.87.

** Naam: with the objective of rooting the peasant movement in its authentic local environment it was fashioned in the image of the 'naam-power' as detained in the old Yatenga (Northern area of Burkina Faso) by the emperor of Yatenga seconded by his four ministers: the 'Togo-Naba', the 'Widi-Naba', the 'Baloum-Naba' and the 'Rasam-Naba'. The traditional (West-African) age-group is fashioned in the image of the 'Naam-power'. Ouedraogo is at pains to explain that the groupements 'Naam-Power' bear no reference to the ancient custom of work in common, also called 'Naam'. The 'Naam' then means the association of youth of the same age (Boys: 20-25 y. - Girls: 15-20 y.) or a group of neighbourhoods who decide among themselves to organise the Naam, usually during the rains.

relations are not permitted: it is rather a school where both sexes learn their apprenticeship for life.

The transition from (traditional) Naam to Groupement is a harmonious process: the association evolves, gradually, with the assent of the elders, in such a manner that no political or religious persuasion needs feeling excluded or alienated by the necessary changes which will inevitably result from it.

Functions and titles of traditional dignitaries will, with the gradual evolution towards reincarnation in the groupement have to change: so for example the Kombi-Naaba will take, on top of his role as coordinator, the role of mediator between the administrative and judiciary powers of the region and be his group's spokesperson and representative. His range of duties continuously expands: in present-day society his role comes ever closer to the job-description of chairman (the modern equivalent of Kombi-Naaba).

The Togo-Naaba will of necessity take on a role resembling that of vice-chairman, and/or secretary, while the Rasam-Naaba, the erstwhile guardian of the royal treasure, now takes on the role of treasurer, i.e. manager of the three different funds: petty cash, capital investment and bank account: accountancy skills (receipts, assets, liabilities, loans, profit calculation) do not necessarily come with the job and the need for an initial and sustained training-programme is more obvious here than in any other field.

The overall end-result of this gradual evolution is that we end up with a quite up-to-date village management committee made up of a chairman, a secretary, a treasurer and one or more individuals in charge of specialised activities. This committee is born in the village community with the blessing of the customary elders, the strongest guarantee of respect, their maintenance and the sustainability of the village organisation. This is wholly in line with the principle posed by Nyoni, that 'development must be of the people and by the people themselves.'

- *The Six S's*

The 'Six S's' Association is an international body, created in 1976 at the time of the destructive drought which then hit Mali, Senegal, North Togo, Upper Volta (since 1984 renamed Burkina Faso). Two recent additional members are Niger and Mauritania.

It is principally an organism of support which receives the bulk of its funds from the Swiss Technical development Cooperation, the Swiss Lenten Action, Miseror (FRG), CEBEMO (Netherlands) and the CCFD of France. Its headquarters are in Geneva and its executive seat is in Ouahigouya (Burkina).

Training and helping people to do things for themselves are Six S's' perceived main functions: it may be characterised as a project which puts education, social organisation, capital investment and boosting of income among its primary objectives.

Six S's will therefore typically support community projects (water and soil conservation, dams, reforestation), lucrative activities (vegetable and animal production, artisanal activities and hammermills, all of which have a multiple effect through reinvestment of profits in draught-projects in less fortunate villages) and social activities (village pharmacies, primary health, games, traditional wrestling and theatre which by their very nature are not self-supporting and are subsidised by Six S's).

In the field of training the Six S's organises workshops where farmers, men and women, 30 at a time, are welcomed for periods of between two and three months.

Specially trained animateurs, or facilitators, together and with the participants and in accordance with their suggestions work out a programme of activities and corresponding training. Both the participants' interest and those of the country's development plans are taken into account.

Afterwards those participants who so desire are being helped to establish themselves in their chosen field: gardening, poultry or cattle raising, local crafts etc.

They receive a loan from Six S's, repayable in two years, while they themselves are in charge of organising the infra-structural requirements. Because the money strictly takes the form of loans for productive activities the funds involved constitute a rolling fund which can be used over and over again to initiate and invigorate other productive activities in the region.

All those activities are supervised by a facilitator recruited from among the local population and who lives in the same conditions as his/her peers.

Ouédraogo concludes his description of Six S's by saying that it is neither a project (initiated from outside) nor a bank (which lacks the training element) nor a cooperative (with its tendencies towards institutionalisation and dissent caused by members' selfishness), but 'a system the essence of which is the alliance of groupings of autonomous farmers.' (Ouédraogo 1987, p.30)

- *Methods, tools and networks of information and communication at the disposal of self-promoting associations:*

Internal communication:

> "One development which puts into focus the central importance self-promoting organisations attach to the empowering potential of relevant information and participatory communication is the fact that at the 1986 Ouahigouya meeting animators and facilitators were being addressed as 'audio-visuals' by some, and 'communicators' by others." (Forrat 1987)

A second, equally significant development is that peasant animators (or communicators) consider the creation of communication tools as their principal, if not most important responsibility.

'Communication tools' has to be understood here as series of slides, technical booklets, large photos on cardboard, posters, interviews etc, resulting from group experiences. The last qualification is of importance: they are not audio-visual aids produced by professionals, but by the peasants themselves in a peasant 'Sitz im Leben' (life situation). Although the term 'Newsprint', commonly used in and by DEP and CHBC-groups in Kenya does not figure on the list of West-African communication-tools, the genesis of a 'newsprint' is in tune with the intent and content of the West African concept of 'communication tool'.

To reinforce the point that what is important is not the tool or how intricate and clever the newest electronic gadgetry is, but the genesis and use of the tool, the Burkinabé peasant animators managed to arrange 454 debating sessions (or workshops) in more than 150 villages during the 1986/87 season using only the 5 sets of communication equipment they had at their disposal.

Their Senegalese counterparts, on the other hand, despite the fact that they had 17 sets of equipment available did not even manage 100 sessions in the same number of villages: 'they were completely mobilised by producing the tools, while neglecting the other actions'. (Forrat 1987)

- *FONGS (Fédération d'Organisations Non Gouvernementales (NGO Federations) Communications Network*

A case-study presentation of the different self-promoting associations present at Ouahigouya revealed that 'an association often originates from an idea of a (local) leader who lived some time out of the area, and who is able, on returning to the village to carry his friends along with him towards innovation and change'.

The normal evolution, however is that, for all the local, participatory and self-initiated character of those innovations, they lack credibility and sustainability unless and until they get themselves organised into associations and, from there, into federations, which may then branch out as all-encompassing networks where 'each individual (and each individual group) is at its centre, with information not the great divider between 'expert' and 'ignoramus', but as the great equaliser: what happens in a network is that members treat each other as peers,

because, what is important are not hierarchies and structures, but information, and the creation and exchange of (new) knowledge'.

The FONGS have become acutely aware that information is power, and that horizontal, participatory communication is the tool for controlling this information.

They also are painfully aware of the present poor distribution of knowledge and information relevant to their plight: vast amounts are held in university libraries or data banks of organisations which do not have or do not make direct use of it: they have decided to organise this material for use amongst themselves: pedagogical and methodological tools, experiences in creating associations, knowledge about management of funds in rural societies, anthropological studies, records of language and customs collected by early missionaries, the list is endless.

Development without Destruction: Prognosis for the Future:

Indigenous NGO's or self-organising associations are an on-going phenomenon: it is, literally, all happening 'under our noses' and documentary and analytical material on the subject is scarce: new information is becoming available daily, especially in journals concentrating on development alternatives such as IFDA, D.D. (Development Dialogue) and IRED Forum. Because it is such a literally 'lively' subject, any generalisation or judgment one may try to make is out of date the moment it is pronounced or put down on paper. To a large extent, this is a movement which is being carried along in whatever direction its own creative spirit decides to carry it.

The appearance of a network system, however, is a not to be underestimated guarantee that this 'Myrdalian' development, i.e. 'the movement upward of the whole social system' (Myrdal 1970) is moving, if not uniformly, then at least synchronically, in the same direction, i.e. towards 'another' development.

The main facts which emerged from the 1988 Ouahigouya meeting give an indication as good as any of what that direction is:

- The existence and expansion of an organised network of people's movements (peasants, craftsmen, youth, women - exactly those categories of people which have been by-passed by the last four 'development decades') with which all the development partners will, henceforth, have to reckon.

- The emergence of adult peasant movements, and that of leaders from these movements who will increasingly be able to speak on their own behalf.

- The will to seek, once they have become self-sufficient in food, to procure surpluses which can be commercialised and which will, little by little become

self-financing development enterprises, where the organisation of efficient management will allow them to take their place as one of the main partners of national and regional development. (Forrat 1987, p.73)

The ORAP (Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress. Bulawayo, Zimbabwe)

Literature on ORAP is all very recent (Nyoni 1987): in organisational form they undoubtedly came in the wake of Groupements movement in West Africa, but be it alone for the fact that Southern Africa has a quite different socio-cultural tradition, (e.g. the functions performed by the West African age-group and Naam structures follow different patterns or have no equivalent altogether), the Southern and Eastern African self-promoting associations cannot possibly be a mere carbon-copy of the former.

Nevertheless, Padervand sees the ORAP as part and parcel of the great surge of self-promotion among peasants - they are the majority and 'development must be of the people by the people themselves' - which at present is sweeping not only Africa, but the whole Third World.

> "During a voyage in 1987 of 13,500 km [...] we communicated with 1,300 peasants - men and women - in more than 100 villages in five African countries (Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Zimbabwe and Kenya) we have been able to observe the extraordinary impact of this silent revolution which will force us, Westerners, to seriously revise the pessimistic and negative image we have formed ourselves of Africa. The types of projects initiated by peasants, from Senegal to Zimbabwe, would cover entire pages simply to catalogue." (Pradervand 1988, p.4-12)

and

> "There are people in the West who allow themselves scepticism and irony when they hear of those who champion the case of the elimination of hunger by the year 2,000. But as Mustapha Cissokho said: 'We are optimistic because we have experienced hunger. You Europeans can afford to be pessimistic because you have no clue what it is, to go hungry'." (Pradervand 1988, p.4-12)

The Zimbabwean ORAP therefore not a completely different species but merely a variation, a different breed with the same "make up", but with different parentage.

The main difference between ORAP and Groupements NAAM, for example, is that the former put much less stress, if any, on the progressive transition from traditional to 'mutant' association. This may be due for a great part to the fact

that Zimbabwe, with South Africa so near and its own quite elaborate 'enclave' of mining complexes, commercial farms and hypermodern towns, exudes an atmosphere of Europeanism, of what may be called internationalist modernity. The for W. Africa typical 'économie de traite' (plantation economy) has historically been much less marked by the tradition-hostile modernising imprint of colonialism than the Africa of the 'labour reserve economies', i.e. those of East and Southern Africa where the metropolis through the bias of the settlers, somehow became a resident in its own colonies, a phenomenon which gave rise to UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1964) in Southern Rhodesia and persists until this day in the form of the de-facto UDI declared by the settler Boers over the autochthonous, numerically far superior, but colonised population of South Africa.

This more straightforward, less roundabout way of setting out to establish an indigenous NGO in southern Africa is obvious from Sithembiso Nyoni's description:

> "ORAP tries to be a people's movement by having a structure which emanates from the roots. Rural people's problems are identified first at levels in which five to ten families get together to discuss the general situation of their everyday lives and experiences." (Nyoni 1987, p.53)

No insistence here on wanting to preserve, while using them, age-old functions, traditions and structures: the ORAP approach gives the impression of a being a broad, culturally neutral, internationalist, family-based type of initiative which could be tried equally successfully in other westernised societies all over the world. The fact that it is a movement much favoured by the Zimbabwean Christian churches may partly account for this lack of over-emphasis on local traditions and structures.

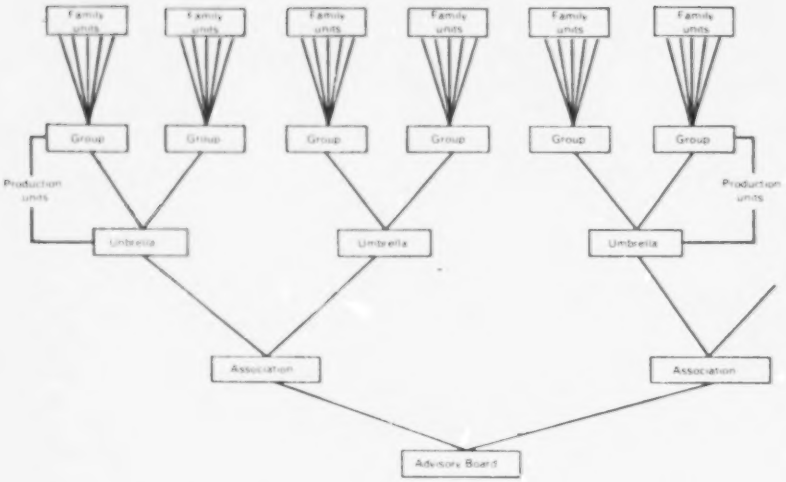
From this stage onward the ORAP follows the same organisational stages as those of the groupements in West-Africa (associations - federations - networks), although the terminology and possibly functions may be different. (cfr Table 11).

Embryonic self-promoting associations are called 'family units' here. Family units are geared to finding solutions to the problems concerning quality of life within family households, i.e. where people <u>are</u>, rather than on project sites.

At a later stage representatives of those family units meet at group level or in production units, an organisational stage which may correspond to the Groupement (Naam) proper, where they try to look at their problems in a wider context.

Table Eleven

ORAP Structure



Source: Nyoni, S. 1987, p.51

At the group or production unit-level also small-scale community projects for water, roads and village production may be undertaken.

Further integration of ORAP groups takes places at district level, where the groups construct a common development centre and are known under the name of associations, roughly comparable to the 'federation' - stage in West-African groupements. Members of the district groups come here to hold workshops (development debates), learn and share skills, and look into possibilities for job-creation and rural service initiatives such as grinding mills and/or bakeries.

Each such ORAP centre has a village market through which local produce is sold, and a village workshop for the manufacture of agricultural tools and household utensils. Representatives from all these levels form the ORAP Advisory Board from which major ORAP policy decisions emanate. Its other function is to create a platform from which rural people can share their experiences and assist each other in solving problems. It is clear that at the level of the Advisory Board ORAP is into networking.

Participatory Communication and Empowerment: the Kamîrîithu Community Educational and Cultural Centre (KCECC) in the General Context of the Folk Media and Popular Theatre. Kamîrîithu, Kenya, 1977-1982.*

- *The KCECC: a people's organisation*

The KCECC started on a 4-acre plot of land in Kamîrîithu, Kiambu District, Kenya, where in colonial times a youth centre, later youth training centre, has stood which, by 1973, had fallen in disuse.

KCECC emerged on the same spot out of a coming together of the villagers and a number of interested intellectuals - teachers, university staff and civil servants, foremost among whom were the educationalist Ngûgi wa Thiongo and the adult educator and research worker, Ngûgi wa Mîrîi.

The community problem at hand was how to revive the centre and thereby offer some prospects for a better future to the village: the means by which this problem was tackled was an initial meeting between villagers and outsiders at which the two Ngûgi's ended up respectively as chairmen of the cultural and adult education committees. Notwithstanding this, the KCECC was run from the beginning by the villagers to the point that even academic writing (by the Ngûgi's) on village activities had first to pass the scrutiny of the Executive committee. All decisions were made on the basis of extensive discussions and the villagers saw KCECC as their 'property'.

- *KCECC Activities:*

- Literacy was the foremost 'felt need' of the villagers. It is the credit of Ngûgii wa Mîrîi that the response to the villagers' need was not a run-of-the-mill reading and writing class for adults, but that, being in charge of the training of literacy trainers, he founded his methodology firmly upon Freire, i.e. the accompaniment of the villagers in their discovery of the world and the gradual ability to 'read' that world.

- Drama: from peasant autobiography to community script-writing.

The Kamîrîithu popular theatre group which eventually emerged (and led to the almost unbelievable event of the government closing down the national University because of them!) originated in the literacy classes where neo-literate villagers had been encouraged to write their own life histories - some running to 10,000 words in length. From individual life histories a way was found to involve

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* Kamîrîithu is one of the five sub-locations of Limuru division in Kiambu District, Kenya, situated about 36 km from Nairobi. There are more than 20 squatter communities in Kamîrîithu, called with popular wittiness 'shauri yako's, i.e. 'it's up to you' (!)

the whole community through community drama, Rau (Rau 1980) points out that drama comes naturally to African cultures and role-playing and sketches are commonly used in Freirean methodology. On top of this drama proves to be an excellent remedy against 'post-literacy blues'.

Testimony to the profound impact of the empowering processes at work is the following observation by Kidd:

> "The theatre production became the central experience of the community. Outside the rehearsals people took on the identities of their characters in the play and referred to situations in the play in arguments and conversations. Their self-confidence grew and there was a significant decline in drinking and crime." (Kidd 1983, p.24)

The most impressive outcome of this community activity was that 'it unleashed a wealth of talent and demystified the creative process'. (Kidd 1983, p.24)

In quantitative terms, but also because of the amount of effort and coordination it required the construction of a huge open-air theatre was certainly the biggest achievement: working from a model based on matchsticks and using local materials the community constructed a 2,000-seat theatre on the plot beside the community centre.

Empowerment is Subversive in the Eyes of the Holders of Power: Repression and Resistance.

For seven weeks the play opened for capacity crowds: peasants and workers brushed shoulders with businessmen and civil servants ... but it was the former who laughed and enjoyed themselves most. What then happened was not a question of whether but when: after just 7 weeks, and still drawing capacity crowds, the play was banned.

A whole sequence of protests, debates and media exposure had as only result the detention of Ngûgi wa Thiong'o (on 31.12.77).

The subsequent events are even more tragic: Ngûgi was released (after Kenyatta's death and not without first having lost his University post - the other Ngûgi suffered the same fate) and he was able to mount, with the villagers, another play 'Maitu Njûgira' -(mother said it for me), a criticism of colonialism and - implicitly - neo-colonialism.

The permission to perform this play in public was never granted. When in February 1982 they showed up for rehearsals at the National Theatre, they found the doors locked. The subsequent (in the eyes of the government 'illegal')

rehearsals at the University provoked the authorities into closing down the entire University.

The final humiliation came shortly afterwards: the KCECC licence was withdrawn, the Executive Committee sacked and the government took it over as an A/E centre. To reinforce the message,

> "a squad of police invaded the Centre and smashed the theatre - which had been built at great expense and labour by the community - to the ground." (Kidd 1983, p.24)

- *'Folk Media' and Popular Theatre.*

In order to situate the Kamîrîthu experience more precisely it is important to appreciate that all socially oriented theatre or theatre performed by the people is not necessarily 'people's', or popular theatre.

Concerning the term 'folk media', Kidd* points out that the term was coined to reflect the communication potential of the traditional arts:

> " While this could have been applied to bottom-up, participatory uses of the 'people's media', in practice it has been used to describe performing arts actively within a top-down, externally controlled modernisation framework." (emphasis added) (Kidd 1982, p.22)

'Folk media' became the fashion in development communication after the top-down diffusion of innovations 'mass media' strategies had come under severe criticism. Mass Media, with their too obviously westernising content, needed to be complemented with the less 'foreign' and remote language of the 'Folk Media' which moreover had the advantage of using the idiom of the people.

This need for 'complementarity' was reinforced by the simultaneous failure of the 'green revolution', which communication-wise could limit itself to getting information about miracle seeds, loans, irrigation etc. out to the already better-off and largely literate farmers. McNamara, the then World Bank president's 'Little Green Revolution' prescribed a strategy for directing, instead, development resources and welfare services to the rural poor. It is significant that interest in the 'Folk Media' dates back to this period, i.e. the early seventies.

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* In this work Kidd compiles 1,779 titles on the subject of the performing arts (drama, music, puppetry, dance, etc) in development communication. (1982)

The term popular theatre, on the other hand, refers to the expression by the popular class of their own, - as opposed to those of the dominant classes', -interests.

In this same context Brandon and Luzuriaga among others (10) would speak of 'didactic' versus 'agitational theatre' conveying the same meaning as what is implied in Freire's banking and problem posing in the field of education.

Table 12, borrowed from Kidd, situates conscientizing popular theatre quite clearly in the total context of 'development communication': the top four modes (no.s 1 to 4)of communication all belong to what Freire would describe as 'banking' in the field of education; the source and messages are foreign, the receivers (targets) are passive: even though outside paid professional groups or locally based theatre groups may be involved, they are basically an extension tool at the service of the conventional 'extension worker': participation, control and ownership by the people are at worst nil, at best of the 'compromise/token' variety.

In the last four categories (no.s 5 to 8), conscientization theatre by outsiders, conscientization workshops, campesino theatre with or without popular organising, ownership and control of the theatrical activity or the overall process is from partial to total.

The KCECC inserts itself in the lower part of this diagramme, where the end result is unequivocally total ownership by the people of 'their' theatre: its function was undoubtedly to 'facilitate a process of critical awareness for action', the source of the initiative: the villagers themselves (helped along by 'organic intellectuals'), the performers: peasants with no former (or formal) experience and the participation, both preparatory and during the performance, one of 'total immersion' of the participants in the 'happening' (including the groups that looked after costumes and props and did the catering).

The powers-that-be in Kenya may have won a pyrrhic victory by physically destroying what had been built by the sweat and enthusiasm of those they had thought for ever voiceless. What had been expected, and would have been welcomed, was the participation of people - in whatever subtle manner - in their own domestication. What materialised was participation as an end.

That is where the extremities of the desirable and the possible meet - and clash.

Table Twelve

DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION
Folk Media and Popular Theatre

Programme context	Function	Source of initiative	Performers	Audience
1. Mobile Information Campaigns	Mass communication of information	Central Government	Paid professionals from Outside the Community	Mass. Undifferentiated Isolated individuals drawn together for a single occasion
2. Mobilisation Campaigns	Mass communication of information ideology mobilisation	Central Government through its Party Network	Locally Based Amateur Theatre Groups	Community members meeting as a Community
3. Extension work	Teaching Modernisation practices	Local Extension worker	Local Extension worker	Mass. Undifferentiated Isolated individuals (non-collectivising experience)
4. Community Development (CD)	Facilitating process of community problem-solving decision-making action	Local Development Worker	Local Development Worker & Community Workers	All members of a 'Community' no matter what their class, meeting as a 'community'
5. Consientization Theatre by Outsiders	Raising political awareness of campesinos workers, etc	Middle-class Theatre Group	Mobile or locally-based or Middle Class Threatre Group (operating out of political commitment)	Peasants, workers, women, other Oppressed Groups
6. Conscientization Drama Workshops: Freirean Literacy	Facilitating a process of critical analysis	Theatre animateur	Peasants with no previous acting	Peasants, workers drawn from common occupational background (e.g. Fishermen, landless labourer
7. Campesino Theatre with popular organising	Communicating popular analysis & politicising peasants	Campesino Theatre Group	Locally-based peasant Theatre Groups	
8. Compesino Theatre with Popular Organising	Contributing to Popular Organising and struggle	Popular Organisation	Campesino members of a popular movement	Peasants, Workers meeting in Popular Organisation (performance i.e. a group who are faced by the problem issue or are already organised

Source: Kidd, 1982 (Abridged)

Conclusion: A Short Analysis of the Case-Studies.

The very fact that none of the projects described in the case studies professed to be a 'development communication' project, as might be expected from projects with a heavy media content, is probably in itself also a proof that the initiators' primary objective was not to try out or to flaunt yet another original way in which media and communication can be used, but that, quite simply participatory modes of communication appeared to be the natural course to take. One cannot conceive of people-centred development without at the same time being participatory (i.e. respectful of other people as people) in one's modes of communication, and participatory modes of communication are eventually, even if unintentionally, as in the case of Kamîrîthu, empowering. That, in practice, they clash with dehumanising, authoritarian, alienating, exploitative and oppressing modes of organisation and communication is only natural, too. Analysing the implications of the inherently conflictual (or, to use the terms of the power-holders, Prince and Merchant), 'subversive' nature of horizontal and participatory communication is not the objective of this study. This would indeed require another type of investigation from a different perspective, and possibly another, quite interesting research objective.

- *1. Horizontal, Participatory Communication. (Dialogue).*

In a dialogical situation 'messages are not delivered to people: they themselves generate the messages and exchange and discuss them among themselves.' (p.81) When this happens in an organised manner this dialogue takes the form of social learning.

Origin of the Messages: People Themselves.

In all three instances - DEP, Self-promoting Associations and KCECC, this condition seems to have been fulfilled.

That 'people should diagnose their own needs' was one of the main pillars on which the DEP was based from the outset. The whole ensuing DEP structure and methodology, as reflected for example in the three-volume 'Training for Transformation' handbook by Hope and Timmel is based on this original inspiration. No effort seems to have been spared to make sure that people's investigation, understanding, self-education and action remain central throughout. The whole gamut of communication - skills and Codes (introduc-

tions, simulation games, brain-storming sessions, role-playing and 'news-printing') have been built around this centre.

Self-promoting Associations (or indigenous NGO's) of which the Naam and the ORAP are a concrete manifestation equally take as their starting principle that 'development must be of the people and by the people themselves', in keeping with the common-sense principle that it is as impossible to 'develop' people as to, for example, eat 'for them'.

The impeccable logic of this principle requires that communication be not merely persuasive, but involves them from the initial stage up to its logical action-packed conclusion.

In the words of Nyoni, it is rather pointless to 'direct' messages at them unless and until they have 'become aware of the forces which oppress and underdevelop' them as to deal with those forces themselves'.

- *2. Investigation-Education-Praxis: Coming Full Circle.*

Based on the Freirean dialogue-anti-dialogue matrix (p.10) and on the linkages between communication and education (cf. p.74ss) there cannot, as we have seen, be any education in the absence of dialogue, neither can there be true dialogue without there being at the same time educational spin-offs and implications: dialogue (horizontal, participatory communication) has, by its very nature, a pedagogical content, i.e. 'source' and 'receiver', educator and educatees, researcher and researched are both 'educating and being educated with the people'. Or, to express it, again, in Freire's words:

> "to the extent that plans resulting [from investigation] are put into practice, we change the level of consciousness of the people, and by this change, research again. Thus there is a dynamic movement between researching and acting on the results of the research." (Freire in: Reuke & Welzel p.134)

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* Until Walter Rodney wrote his book "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" (Bogle l'Ouverture 1972) the received wisdom was that people could, indeed, underdevelop themselves without any outside help, through the process of personal/individual/collective blame (cfr. p.6 of this work) whereas they were considered to be rather too ignorant to be able to develop themselves: this noble task could only be achieved for them, by development agents, experts, diffusionists of innovations and the likes: strange topsy-turvy world!

In every one of the case-studies and in as many different ways, we see this phenomenon, this blossoming into action, happen. It is as 'natural' as nature itself: at the same time so simple and yet so complicated that we will never find words to adequately describe, still less 'capture' or define it.

The best comparison with what is happening in a learning organisation is the life-giving sap of a plant or the blood which reaches every part of the body, keeps it healthy, and keeps it 'going'. Without roots, the plant would be a mere dry stick, without 'anima' the body would be but a pathetic conglomerate of cells robbed of their raison d'être.

- *3. Impact/Effectiveness:*

If a project using participatory communication methodology can be judged by its degree of popularity with the people who are at the same time initiators, actors and beneficiaries, DEP was so successful that even its staunchest opponents (i.e. those who disagreed with its basic inspiration/ideas) felt that they had to pay their respect to it.

'Popularity' and 'success' are two variables which are difficult if not impossible to measure by the classical criteria: they are qualities related to people's (more or less enthusiastic) response to certain ideas or approaches and are subject to certain forms of measurement through, for example, surveys or polls.

If, however, we want to judge the efficiency and effectiveness of a project like DEP, we will have to go beyond mere criteria of popularity and success: pop-music is popular and 'successful', too, and so are certain jingoistic or belligerent stances directly or indirectly encouraged by some politicians.

The crucial questions we will have to ask here are:-

- What role does communication play in the liberation of human beings and communities from being passive recipients and towards a developed, active citizenry capable in participating in choices about community issues?

- In how far did participatory, dialogical communication contribute to empowerment, i.e. the re-possession by the citizens of those resources (physical, political, cultural and sociological) which were originally theirs?

DEP is wedded to a response to rural poverty and underdevelopment which goes beyond the classical interpretation of development which relies on passive participation of the poor in production-boosting activities and which also transcends the wholly non-participatory responses of the social services delivery approach.

DEP and KCECC were precedents which proved to people that such a thing, notwithstanding the proofs and propaganda to the contrary, is possible. In terms

of dis-proving the prevailing and carefully nurtured myth that people are powerless and that their 'salvation' has of necessity to come from outside sources, both DEP and KCECC were a success: something happened in and to people's minds and consciousness which will never again be taken away from them. What is important is not the name (e.g. DEP) under which such a process takes place, but the process itself.

What is equally important is that experiences such as DEP are not solitary phenomena which, comet-like emerge out of nowhere and disappear without leaving a trace, but that they are very much part of what Pradervand calls a 'silent revolution' which is happening all around us: they are nodes or cells in a network of similar, like-minded projects each of which is linked to all the others directly or indirectly; the disappearance or addition of one or several nodules does not substantially cripple or strengthen the whole.

Participatory, dialogical horizontal communication is the link which gives cohesion to all those nodules internally and assures their reciprocal interlinkage. Seen from that perspective, the 350 million African peasants are indeed not 350 million individual problem-cases. They are '350 million points of hope. Three hundred and fifty million solutions'. (Pradervand op.cit.p.12)

Notes

1. i.e. all his post 1975 works, a.o. "Where We Stand in Understanding the Diffusion of Innovations" (76) op.cit. "Communication and Development: Critical Perspectives" (76) op.cit. "Communication networks: Towards a New Paradigm" (81) op.cit.

2. Schumacher (73) op.cit. p.159.

3. e.g. Matlon, P. Cantrell, R. & King, D. "Coming Full Circle: Farmers' Participation in the Development of Technology" IDRC-189e. Ottawa. Canada. 1984 Norman, D. "The Farming Systems Approach: Relevancy for the Small Farmer." Michigan State University (MSU) 1980.

4. Chambers, R. "Rural Development: Putting the Last First." Longman. 1983. In his introduction he reveals that the intended original title was: "Putting the Last First: reversals for Rural Development."

5. op.cit. p.106, i.e. the chapter entitled "Integrated Rural Poverty" which refers to the 'Integrated Rural Development Label' all too liberally attached to R.D. projects which never asked themselves which dis-integration their IRD should really be an answer to.

6. cfr. Chapter 1, p.27 ss.

7. de Graaf, M. "Catching Fish or Liberating Man." JSDA 1986 op.cit p.23: de Graaf applies the allegory of the 'global war on the poor' to present-day Zimbabwe. This war takes place at different levels: physical (ecological balance disturbed); economic (shrinking resource base); social (increasing isolation and dependency at the same time; political (increased centralisation without increased decision-making power for people) etc.

8. Beltran, L.R. "Alien Promises, Objects and Methods in Latin American Communication Research" in: Rogers, E. "Communication and Development" 1976. op.cit. p.15. Gerace, F. "Communicacion Horizontal." Libreria. Lima 1973. Darcy de Oliviera, R. & Darcy de Olivera, M. "The Militant Observer: a Sociological Alternative." Institut d'Action Culturelle. Geneva. 1975.
Fals Borda, O. "Science and the Common People." International Forum on Participatory Research." Yugoslavia. 1980

9. Kunczik, M. "Communication and Social Change: a Summary of Theories, Policies and Experiences for Media Practioners in the Third World" Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung. FRG 1985.
In this recent book which advertises itself as a 'Communications Manual' (and a very professinal and knowledgeable one judging by the thoroughness of its outlay) no direct mention of, let alone direct linkage with education is made. The book lacks an Index, so it is not possible to verify the (in)frequency with which Education is mentioned, but a quick analysis of the bibliography reveals that, apart from Goody (Literacy) no reference at all is made to texts by educationalists or with an educational content. About 75% of the titles refer to Communications or Media-related subjects whereas the remaining 25% is divided between anthropologists, developmentalists, sociologists and economists.

10. Brandon, J.R. "Asian Theatre: a Study Guide" Washington. 1980.
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